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(Sgd. *John P. O'Connor*)

CONFIDENTIAL

H.M. DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

DEPT.
or POS

A row of ten small, dark, irregular shapes, possibly seeds or small stones, arranged horizontally. The shapes vary slightly in size and texture, with some appearing more rounded and others more elongated.

(11-51)

FILE No. NEQ 11

(Part)

TITLE: INTERNAL SITUATION IN IRAQ

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PART

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1970

Reports in Brief

NEQ YI 1

Nasir's meeting with Krishna Menon (Text) Nasir received the Indian former Defence Minister, Krishna Menon, on the evening of 11th February. (Cairo in Arabic 18.30 GMT 11.2.70)

Pa MM 17/2

French delegation in Libya (Text) Abd as-Salam Jallud, the Revolution Command Council member, the Deputy Premier and the Interior and Local Government Minister, gave a reception at the Waddan Hotel this evening [11.2.70] in honour of the leader and members of the French delegation. A number of Libyan senior officials, the French ambassador to Libya and Embassy staff attended the reception. The French delegation is leaving Tripoli tomorrow evening after an official visit lasting several days. The delegation had talks with Libyan officials in various economic, technical and cultural spheres on strengthening the ties of co-operation between the two countries. (Libyan Radio in Arabic 22.30 GMT 11.2.70)

Ammash's return from Cairo (Excerpts) The Revolution Command Council member and Minister of the Interior, General Salih Mahdi Ammash, and his delegation returned to Baghdad yesterday [11.2.70] after representing Iraq at the Arab front line States Conference in Cairo. In a statement to the Iraqi News Agency, Ammash said the results of the conference could be considered successful steps against US and Zionist plans to humiliate the Arab nation and force it to surrender. General Salih Mahdi Ammash attacked US imperialism and its allies for their hostile attitude to the Arabs and for their financial, military and moral support to Zionism. He called for the liquidation of US interests in the Arab region if the USA persisted in its hostile attitude to the Arab nation... (Baghdad in Arabic 04.00 GMT 12.2.70)

Interview with Nuri Abd ar-Razzaq (Text) Baghdad: The weekly magazine 'Alif Ba' today [11.2.70] published an interview with Nuri Abd ar-Razzaq, member of the Iraqi Communist Party Central Committee. Abd ar-Razzaq has affirmed the need for the establishment of a national front including the various nationalist parties in the Iraqi region. He said: A dialogue between our Party and the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party has been going on for some time. The aim of the dialogue is to achieve the basic aims which concern our people. These aims can be achieved by a strong front including all factions of the nationalist movement, especially since we are today facing the imperialist menace, the Zionist occupation and the plots of internal reaction. Abd ar-Razzaq reaffirmed the Iraqi Communist Party's support for all the progressive anti-imperialist steps taken by the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party. (Iraqi News Agency in Arabic 13.40 GMT 11.2.70)

Iryani's message to Bakr On 11th February President Bakr received the Yemeni National Council Chairman Shaykh Abdullah al-Ahmar and his delegation. Ahmar delivered a verbal message to Bakr from the Yemeni Republican Council Chairman Abd ar-Rahman al-Iryani. (Baghdad in Arabic 15.00 GMT 11.2.70)

"Martyrs' Day" celebration in Tawahi A big student demonstration took place in Tawahi on 11th February to mark the third anniversary of Martyrs' Day. Crowds of demonstrators paraded through the main street and stopped at the martyrs' garden, where they paid homage to those who had sacrificed their lives for the liberation of the homeland from the rule of colonialism and its agents. (Aden in Arabic 15.00 GMT 11.2.70)

William Rogers's departure from Tunisia William Rogers, the US Secretary of State, left Tunisia on 11th February. He was seen off at the airport by Habib Bourguiba Junior. (Tunis in Arabic 23.00 GMT 11.2.70)

Tunisian Government decision on student unrest (Excerpt from decision) In the case of (?disturbances) within a faculty or higher education establishment, any class which has been disturbed will be suspended. This measure can be extended to the closing down of the establishment. In this case, classes will be resumed only after the situation has been completely restored to normal and the students can once more continue their studies normally. Strict steps will be taken as from Thursday, 12th February 1970, to ensure the normal running of classes. Access to the university campus will be strictly forbidden to people who do not belong to it. (Tunis in French 21.30 GMT 11.2.70)

More Dayan assassination plot sentences in Gaza The terrorist who led a group which planned to assassinate the Defence Minister, Moshe Dayan, has been sentenced by the Gaza military court to six years' imprisonment. He is Mahmud al-Jabari, aged 36. Another terrorist of the same band - Hilmi Ayyad - aged 32, received 27 months' imprisonment. (Israel in English 05.00 GMT 11.2.70)

Relaxation of Gaza curfew The curfew in the northern Gaza Strip was lifted at noon on 11th February. The curfew was imposed a week ago when an employee of the Civil Administration in Gaza was shot and wounded near Bayt Hanun. The curfew was imposed on Jabaliyah, Bayt Hanun and Bayt Lahiyah. Mukhtars from the northern Gaza Strip promised the Military Governor of Gaza District, Lt-Col. Beni Metiv, that they would assume responsibility for the maintenance of quiet in their area. The commander of the Israeli forces then gave orders for the curfew to be lifted. (Israel in Hebrew 18.00 GMT 11.2.70)

Israeli raid on Wadi al-Mawjib "saboteur" base (Text) An Israeli military force today [11.2.70] raided a saboteur base at the mouth of the Wadi al-Mawjib on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea. The base served as a starting point for saboteur incursions into Israeli territory. Two saboteurs were killed in this action and one was captured. Two motor boats, which were used to carry saboteur and sabotage materials, and a number of weapons were also captured. Our forces returned safely to their base. (Israel in Hebrew 17.00 GMT 11.2.70)

Israeli Jordanian clash at Umm ash-Shurat (Text of Jordanian official statement) An enemy patrol tried to cross to the East Bank of the Jordan at Umm ash-Shurat in the southern Jordan valley at 21.20 today [11.2.70]. Our forces intercepted the patrol, engaged it for 45 minutes and forced it to withdraw to occupied territory. There were no losses on our side. (Amman in Arabic 21.00 GMT 11.2.70)

Arab Radio Comment 11.2.70

JORDAN 19.00 GMT: Aim of Cabinet decision on fida'i organisations (cf. ME/3303/A/1).

LIBYA 13.00 GMT: Warning against Rogers's tour and prospects of positive decision from Nasir-Qadhafi-Numyri talks.

MOROCCO 20.30 GMT: King Hasan II's 'Le Monde' interview.

SAUDI ARABIA 18.00 GMT: Saudi assistance to pilgrims.

SYRIA 12.15 GMT (repeated 19.15 GMT): Need for continued Arab support for Palestine Resistance.

UAR 12.30 GMT: Abd al-Fattah Hilal on imperialist challenges facing Arab action. 18.30 GMT ('We and the World'): (i) US responsibility for endangering Middle East peace, and Britain's policy of peaceful solutions and Chieftain tanks for Israel; (ii) William Rogers's visit to Africa.

"Voice of the Arabs" (Cairo) 11.30 GMT: Abd al-Fattah al-Adawi on successful Egyptian military operations. 14.15 GMT ("Palestine Service"): Ali Musa on success of Arab Resistance, Israeli concealment of losses, and US support for Israel.

15.15 GMT ("People in Sinai"): Israeli aggression. 16.20 GMT ("Conversation with a Listener"): Arab continuation of the battle since 1967.

17.00 GMT ("Arabian Peninsula"): (i) Saqqaf on anniversary of British decision to set up the South Arabian Federation and the subsequent Radfan revolution; (ii) Ismat Ibrahim on success of recent UAR operations. 18.00 GMT: Hilmi al-Buluk on US support for Israel.

27 FEB 1970

42

Cutting dated 27 FEB 1970, 19

Mr. Krauchert

Iraq releases Aref men

DAMASCUS, Feb. 26.

IRAQ'S Ruling Revolution Command Council (RCC) has decided to release on bail 11 high-ranking former members of ex-president Abdel-Rahman Aref's regime, according to reports reaching here to-day.

The official Syrian Arab News Agency (SANA), in a despatch from Baghdad, said the men included at least four former ministers, as well as military officers and civil servants. The 11 have been

in custody since the July 17, 1968, coup by the ruling Baath Party which toppled Aref.

SANA said the RCC announced they would be released on bail of 1,000 dinars (\$2,800), indicating they still faced the possibility of trial. Those named by SANA included the former Foreign Minister, Ismail Khairallah, and former Industry Minister, Abdel Karim Kannounah.

UPI

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Iraq Inter
PANA
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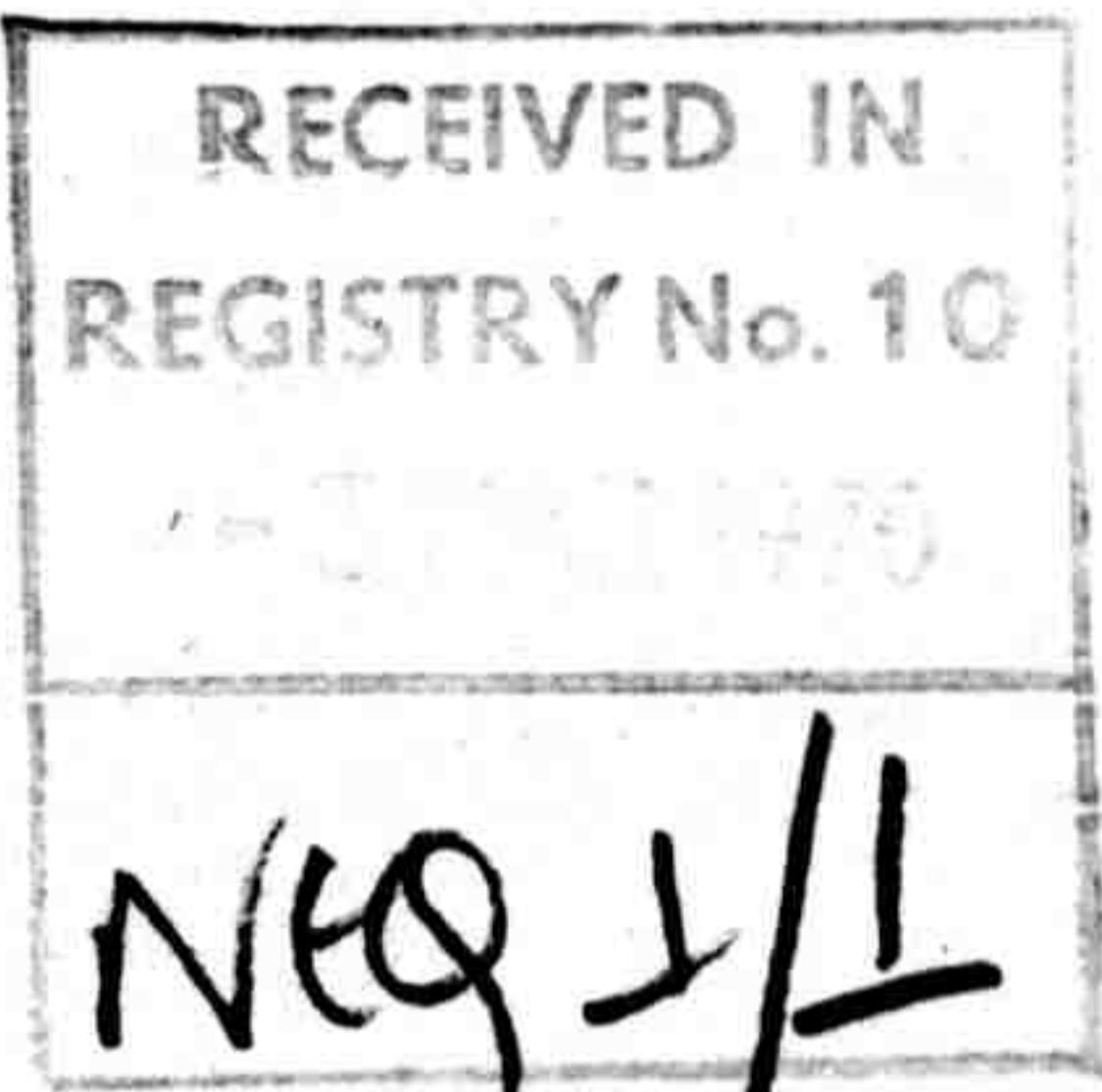
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BBC B

B29 IRAQ: INVESTIGATION INTO RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS

(IRAQI NEWS AGENCY) BAGHDAD: A LARGE-SCALE INVESTIGATION IS NOW IN PROGRESS INTO THE ACTIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE HIGHER SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH COUNCIL, ITS ANNUAL BUDGET, AND THE FINANCIAL AID IT HAS RECEIVED FROM FOUNDATIONS ABROAD.

THE COUNCIL WAS FORMED FIVE YEARS AGO AND MORE THAN 250,000 DINARS WERE PLACED AT ITS DISPOSAL LAST YEAR. IN ADDITION IT RECEIVED 1,350,000 DOLLARS FROM THE GULBENKIAN FOUNDATION, 80,000 DOLLARS FROM THE FRENCH OIL RESEARCH INSTITUTE AND OTHER AID FROM U.N. DEVELOPMENT ORGANISATIONS.

MF BBC MON 2/3 EM 1536



B29 INVESTIGATION 2

TWO RESEARCH INSTITUTES - ONE FOR NATURAL RESOURCES AND THE OTHER FOR BUILDING MATERIALS - ARE THE SUBJECT OF PARTICULAR INVESTIGATION. THEY WERE DUE TO BE COMPLETED WITHIN A THREE-YEAR PERIOD ENDING THIS YEAR, BUT SO FAR WORK HAS NOT YET BEGUN. ALSO BEING INVESTIGATED IS THE BUILDING OF THE OIL RESEARCH INSTITUTE. WORK HAS NOT YET STARTED, ALTHOUGH ONLY TWO OF THE FIVE YEARS ALLOTTED FOR THE JOB REMAIN.

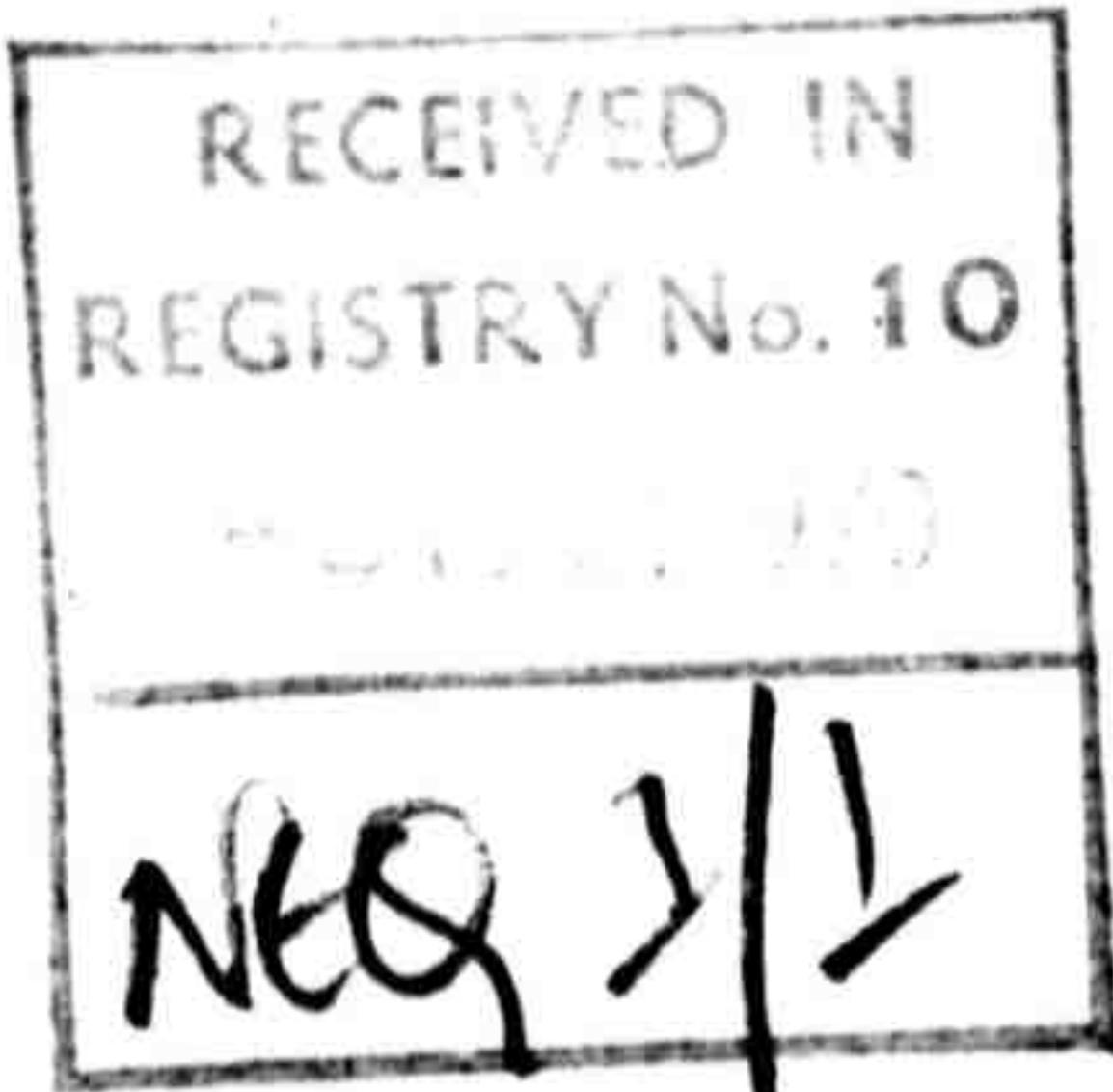
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Cutting dated **5 MARCH 1970** 19**EXECUTION IS
IRAQ'S 99th
SINCE 1968****By Our Staff Correspondent
in Beirut**

A firing squad in Baghdad has executed a former police officer, Muffen Jarallah, for plotting against the ruling left-wing Baathist Iraqi Government. He is the 99th person executed since President Bakr seized power in July, 1968.

The three-man revolutionary court in Baghdad tried him and five other people at the weekend. There are no reports of sentences on the other five, four civilians and an Army sergeant. The charge followed a coup attempt in January.

The Government-controlled newspaper *Al Jumhouriya* yesterday reported that several people, including former Iraqi Prime Minister Abaul Azzaq Nayef, were sentenced to death in their absence

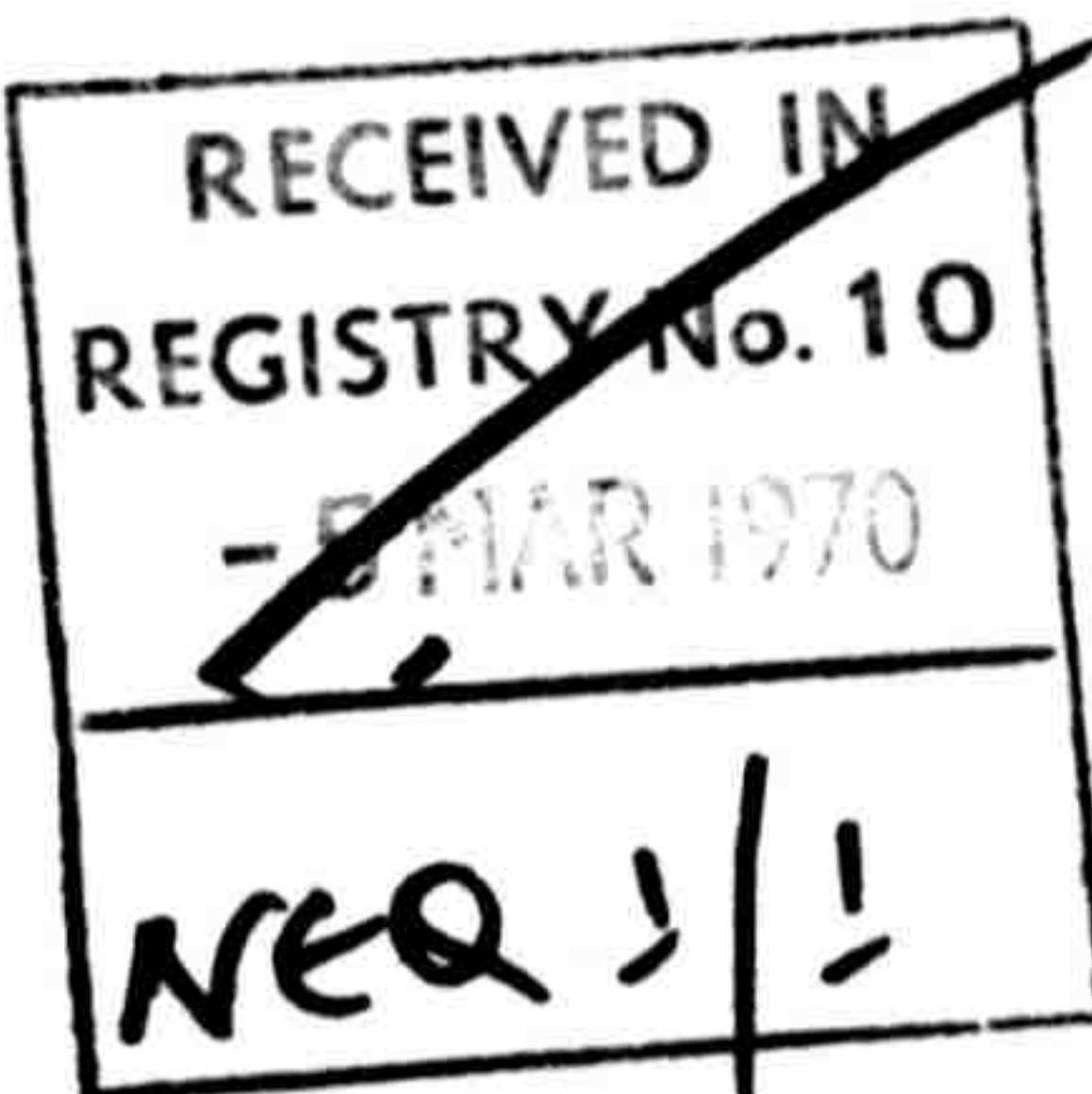
**Mr. Hinchcliffe****Revd****Iraq Inter****MM****3/3**

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26

B11 GRAVE ERROR BY 'AL AHRAM', SAYS IRAQI ATTACHE

(BAGHDAD RADIO) THE PRESS ATTACHE AT OUR EMBASSY IN CAIRO HAS WRITTEN TO 'AL-AHRAM' ABOUT ITS REPORT YESTERDAY THAT ABD AL-RAZZAQ AL-NAYIF WAS THE LEADER OF THE COUP AGAINST ABD AL-RAHMAN ARIF.

MF BBC MON 4/3 JL 1020



B11 ERROR 2: AL-BAKR'S LEADERSHIP

THE PRESS ATTACHE SAID: +'AL-AHRAM'S' EDITOR HAS COMMITTED GRAVE POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL ERROR. EVERYONE KNOWS VERY WELL THAT THE 17 JULY 1968 REVOLUTION WAS PLANNED AND EXECUTED BY THE BAATH PARTY UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF PRESIDENT AHMAD HASAN AL-BAKR, WHO WAS APPOINTED PRESIDENT AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE OVERTHROW OF ARIF'S REGIME+'.

MF BBC MON 4/3 JL 1022

B11 ERROR 3: APPOINTED UNDER PRESSURE

THE PRESS ATTACHE ALSO SAID THAT ABD -AL-RAZZAQ AL-NAYIF WAS APPOINTED PREMIER AS A RESULT OF PRESSURE BROUGHT TO BEAR AT A CRITICAL MOMENT WHEN THE REVOLUTION WAS FACED WITH A DANGEROUS SITUATION, THUS MAKING IT AGREE TEMPORARILY TO THE APPOINTMENT.

THE BAATH PARTY COMMAND EXPLAINED ALL THESE MATTERS IN THE STATEMENT ISSUED WHEN AL-NAYIF WAS DISMISSED ON 30 JULY 1968.

(ED: AL-NAYIF WAS SENTENCED TO DEATH IN ABSENTIA BY A SPECIAL COURT IN BAGHDAD FOR PLOTTING TO OVERTHROW THE 17TH JULY REVOLUTION - SEE OUR B6 LAST MONDAY).

END BBC MON 4/3 JL (KY) 1025

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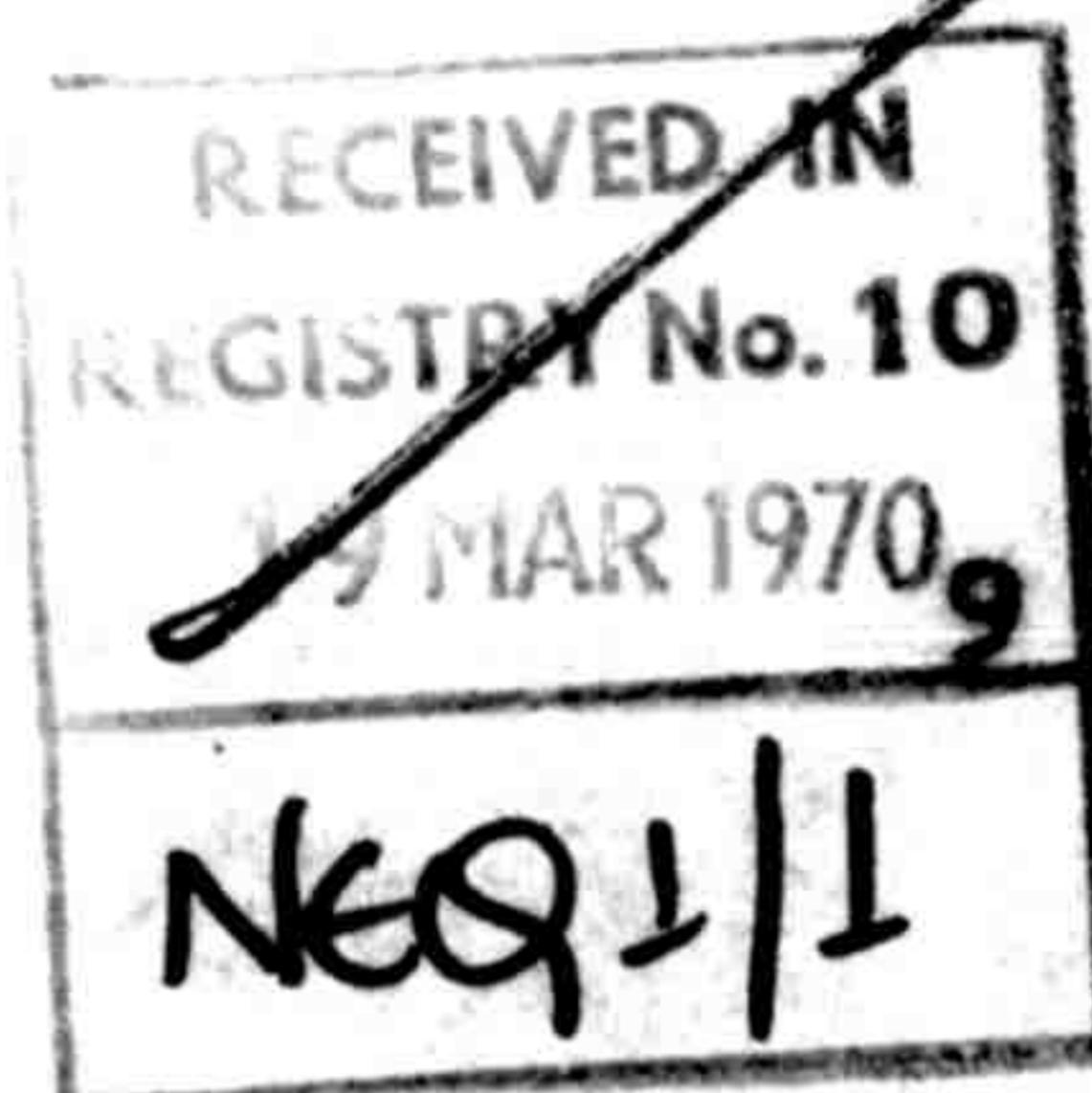
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BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

6



9 March 1970

Ibrahim Haji Razuki and wife Huda
Salim al Khayyat

Please refer to your letter (GV 14594 Y) of 2 February about the above mentioned Iraqis who have applied for an extension to stay in the United Kingdom. Your letter was delayed because it was sent in error to Aden who forwarded it to us.

2. Huda Salim al Khayyat, the "first Iraqi woman spy", and her husband Ibrahim Razuki were among a list of fourteen persons sentenced to death in absentia. This information was broadcast on Baghdad Radio on 30 December 1969, and was also published in the Baghdad Observer (an English language newspaper) on 31 December 1969. This was reported in Symons' letter 1/3 of 31 December to Hinchcliffe in Near Eastern Department.

3. We can also confirm that Abdul Waheed Zeki died in prison in 1968, it is believed as a result of torture. We cannot say however, whether Mr. Razuki was, as he claims, in partnership with Zeki in the Far East Commercial Company.

(R. C. Harrison)
H.M. Consul

P. M. Platts, Esq.,
Migration and Visa Department,
P.C.O.,
London S.W.1.

c.c. P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
P.C.O.

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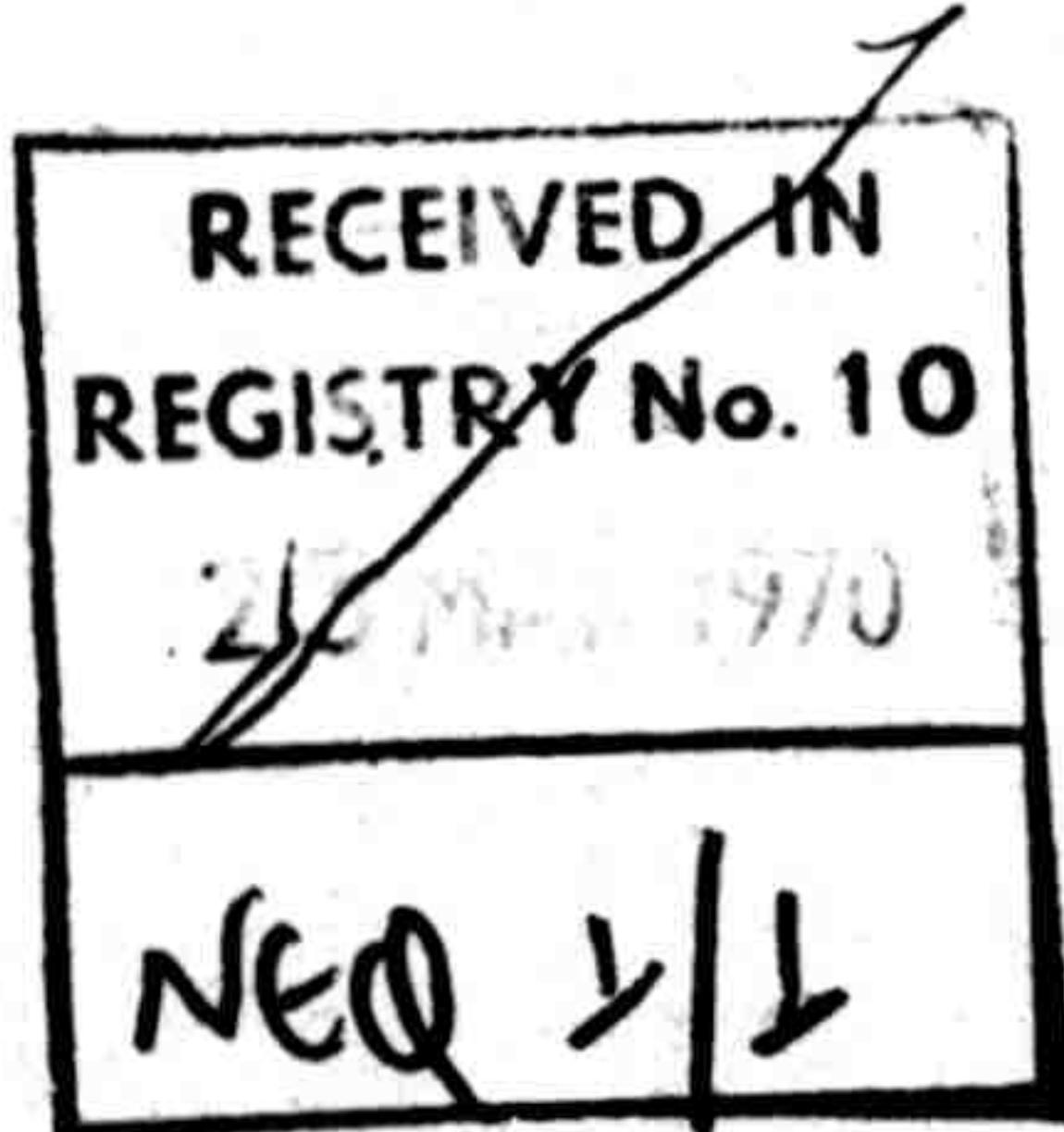
B31 BAGHDAD: BAATH PARTY MAN MURDERED

(BAGHDAD RADIO) UNKNOWN PERSONS YESTERDAY ASSASSINATED MUHAMMAD AHMAD AL-KHADRI, A STRUGGLER OF THE SOCIALIST ARAB BAATH PARTY, ~~IN BALAD~~, NORTHERN BAGHDAD. 'AL-THAWRAH' SAYS THAT ALL CIRCLES HAVE DENOUNCED THE ASSASSINATION AND HAVE CALLED ON THE AUTHORITIES TO FIND AND PUNISH THE MURDERERS.

END BBC MON 22/3 JL (KY) 1616

M. Steer

4



Reg. P.O.



Mr. Henshaw

P.M.

23/3

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10

15 APR 1970

Reports in Brief

~~Tikriti's return from Cairo (Excerpts) Vice-President Hardan Abu al-Ghaffar at-Tikriti and the Army Chief of Staff, Lt-Gen. Abd al-Jabbar Sharif Sharif, returned to Baghdad after attending the Arab front line States' Defence Ministers' conference... Tikriti told the Iraqi News Agency that the meeting had been successful. (Baghdad in Arabic 04.00 GMT 9.4.70)~~

Iraqi denial of arrests of communists (Excerpt) Beirut: The Iraqi Embassy in Beirut has denied 'An-Nida' reports of large-scale arrests of communists in Iraq. The Embassy described the report the Beirut newspaper had published on the arrest of the communist fighter Mahmud Ahmad al-Khudari as a disservice to the cause of national unity in Iraq and the cause of progress in general... (Iraqi News Agency in Arabic 11.35 GMT 8.4.70)

Joseph Salamah's visit to Syria The Public Security Director General, Joseph Salamah, left for Damascus today [8.4.70] in response to an invitation from the Syrian Minister of the Interior, Muhammad Rabah at-Tawil. They will discuss matters connected with the security of the two countries. (Beirut in Arabic 11.00 GMT 8.4.70)

Arrest of W German in Sudan Maj. Faruq Hamadallah, member of the Revolutionary Council and Minister of the Interior told the Sudanese news agency that the interrogation of the arrested West German indicated that he was co-operating with the dissolved Muslim Brotherhood group. The Minister said he would give more details about the counter-revolution activity of this West German, who was arrested on his way to Abu Island before the escape of Al-Hadi Abd ar-Rahman. (Sudan Information Service in English 09.00 GMT 8.4.70)

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY NO. 10

ME/3349/A/11

AOLP and ALF operations An Action Organisation for the Liberation of Palestine Unit ambushed an enemy patrol with a tracked vehicle on the morning of 8th April, damaging the vehicle and killing its occupants. An AOLP sniper unit killed an enemy in the Sa'idah observation post, near Marj Najah, on the evening of 7th April. Another unit killed an enemy in the Junaydiyah observation post. (Iraqi News Agency in Arabic 14.19 GMT 8.4.70)

The Arab Liberation Front Martyr Abd al-Karim al-Mujjid Group ambushed the enemy on the evening of 7th April on the road to observation points between Mashari and Wadi al-Yabis, inflicting casualties. The Martyr Abd al-Mun'im Riyad Group made a mortar attack on Kefar Ruppin, hitting the northern part of the settlement and setting it on fire. The Khalid Bin al-Qalid Group attacked ambush positions in Tall Abu as-Sus, inflicting casualties. The Martyr Sanusi Mas'ud Group attacked an enemy barracks in Umm an-Ni'aj, Wadi al-Yabis, inflicting casualties. ALF snipers killed four of the enemy in the Tall as-Siyat, Shuqayir, Jildah and Tallat Musa Areas between 5th and 7th April. (Iraqi News Agency in Arabic 14.20 GMT 8.4.70)

PLF operations (Excerpt from Palestine Armed Struggle Command statements) Popular Liberation Forces revolutionaries destroyed an enemy military vehicle and killed or wounded most of its occupants in the Wadi Fayfa area south of the Dead Sea on the night of 3rd April. Another PLF group laid mines on the Dhibyan-Malihah road in the Gharandal area on 1st April. A mine destroyed an enemy military vehicle and killed or wounded its occupants. ("Voice of Palestine" in Arabic 17.30 GMT 8.4.70)
"Voice of Fatah" programmes 8.4.70 The "Voice of Fatah" programme in Arabic on 8th April (18.30 GMT) condemned the bombing of the Sharqiyah school; said that Israeli propaganda was failing; condemned imperialist support of Israeli crimes, and US support for the "liquidation" of the Arab revolution; urged women in Palestine to follow the example of women in Algeria; and asserted that Syria was capable of overcoming enemy terror. The programme in Hebrew (19.20 GMT) condemned the Sharqiyah school bombing.

Arab Radio Comment 8.4.70

JORDAN 19.00 GMT: Threat to exterminate Arabs in Sinai.

LEBANON 18.00 GMT: Lebanese pride in publishing Mrs. McKay's statement.

LIBYA 13.00 GMT: The need for unity of Gulf liberation movements.

SYRIA 12.15 GMT (repeated 19.15 GMT): The correct policy of the Ba'th Party.

TUNISIA 12.00 GMT: The lessons to be drawn from the Ahmad Bin Salih case.

UAR 12.30 GMT: Abd al-Fattah Hilal on Arab steadfastness and Israeli wickedness. 18.30 GMT ("We and the World"): (i) The Israeli raid on the Sharqiyah school; (ii) the "white racist" dictatorship in Rhodesia.

"Voice of the Arabs" (Cairo) 11.30 GMT: Hilmi al-Buluk on Israeli atrocities. (14.15 GMT "Palestine Service", 15.15 GMT "People in Sinai" and 15.20 GMT "Conversation with a Listener" superseded by relay of Evacuation Day broadcast from Bayda, Libya). 17.00 GMT ("Arabian Peninsula"): Gulf problems (see above). 18.00 GMT: Muhammad Uruq on the bombing of the Sharqiyah school (see above).

"Maghrib Service" (Cairo) 21.30 GMT: Sayyid Uways on the importance of Sudanese, Libyan and UAR meetings.

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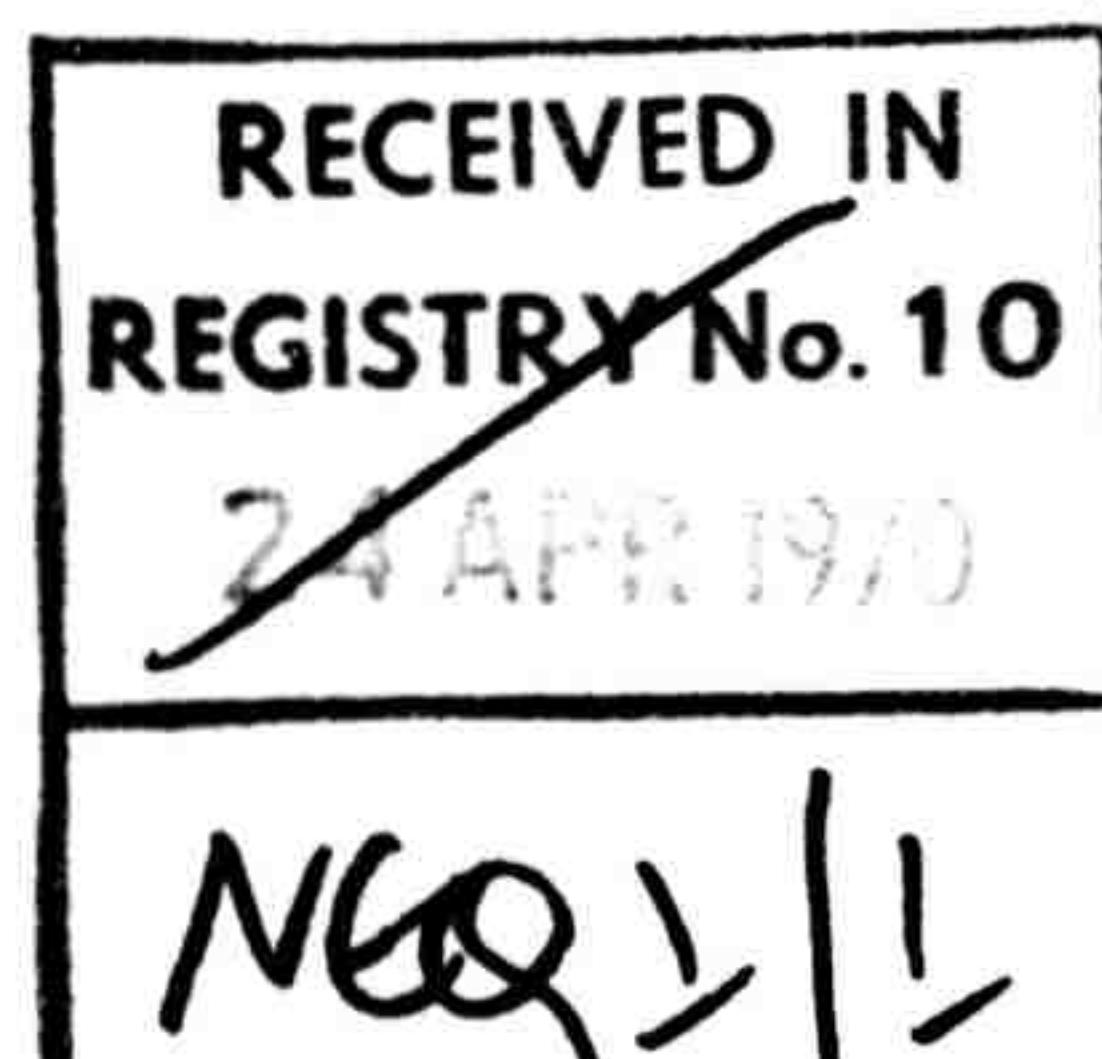


BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

209

17 April 1970



enter & submit

RMM
23/4

Dear Sirs,

The National Front in Iraq

The Ba'ath party newspaper Al Thawra of 11 April prints an article of several thousand words laying down the party policy on the formation of a National Front.

2. The article starts by stating its firm support for the principle of a National Front. Such a front should be based primarily on the firm foundation of wide popular support and not be merely a political slogan divorced from reality. This is the first of two recurring themes which emerge from the article.

3. It claims that the Ba'ath party has attempted to lay the groundwork for a National Front by adopting policies which are in the interests of the people as a whole. The enforcement of agrarian reform, the granting of working-class rights (e.g. the Labour Pensions Law), the adoption of a national policy for the exploitation of oil, sulphur and other minerals are examples of measures taken in the interest of the nation as a whole.

4. The other recurring theme is that a National Front must be based upon a true identity of views and policies between the Ba'ath party and other national political movements. The Ba'ath party itself has worked to achieve this by promoting good relations with other national progressive forces. Again, the article claims that the present régime has released Communists imprisoned under previous régimes, reinstated them in their jobs and granted them freedom in which they can practise their political and ideological activities within the interests of the Revolution and the people. The settlement with the Kurdish Democratic Party is seen as arising from a true mutual understanding of mutual aims and the Kurdish settlement as a real step forward towards a National Front.

5. The article however criticises at some length the attitude of certain "elements" which have taken every opportunity of criticising the actions of Ba'ath party on small matters while ignoring the fact that the party's policies as a whole have been aimed at the national interest. Despite

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O., S.W.1.

/the

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the concessions made to the Communists and ~~their~~ political groupings, Thawra charges that there is a lack of willingness on the part of the others to join with the Ba'ath in a genuine National Front.

6. One reason for this may lie beneath that portion of the article which makes it absolutely clear that any National Front must have the Ba'ath party as its focal point. The progress so far made, it says, has not come about in a vacuum but as a result of concrete developments under the guidance of the Ba'ath party. This claim for leadership is justified because the party is above the slogans of classical political parties. The party's leadership has not been conferred by the party upon itself but is rather the result of the accomplishments of the party and its distinctive revolutionary political role. It is the Ba'ath party's view that the revolution is the property of the people, and for the sake of the revolution the party is willing to forget the past and leave the door open to all national forces. These forces must rally under the banner of the revolution if they are not to lose their influence.

7. This statement may in part be a realistic call by the Ba'ath to all political forces in Iraq to unite in a National Front. Thus far it is unimpeachable. However, the submission implied to the banner of the Ba'ath must clearly be of little attraction to the Communists and other groups at whom the Ba'ath are aiming. One exception is the Kurdish Democratic Party which is described as being "in partnership with the Ba'ath" - thus placing it on a higher level than other political groupings. As of the moment it remains the only party to be associated with the Ba'ath in the formation of the new National Assembly whose constitution we are promised in the near future.

8. Yet despite these failings the government's drive for a National Front has certainly gained impetus over recent months and was given an extra boost by its espousal by the recent conference of Arab Asian Peace Committees in Baghdad (see my letter 1/7 of 17 April). The conference made great claims for the part the Iraqi Peace Committee had played in reaching a solution of the Kurdish question. Attendance at it was representative of the leadership of the Ba'ath party and of a broad spectrum of other parties in Iraq. With these advantages it is not beyond the realms of possibility that the next few months may see a concerted campaign to broaden the basis of Government.

9. The form that a National Front might take is of course open to speculation. However it is certain that, as with the Kurds, the Ba'ath will not be willing to give up their

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control of policy-making by admitting non-Ba'athists into the Revolutionary Command Council. The obvious basis for a National Front is the proposed legislative body, the National Assembly, the composition of which, apart from Ba'athists and Kurds, is still not defined in detail. Nor of course has the scope of its legislative authority yet been revealed. Such an arrangement would have the benefit of gathering outside political elements into the fold without detracting appreciably from the Ba'ath party's control of policy. But there are no signs that the Communists, for instance, would accept such a minor role and there are indications that the Ba'ath may be losing patience with the orthodox Communists and dealing with them in the good old Iraqi way by imprisoning them. They are the major political force at present excluded from power and a National Front which excluded them would be scarcely plausible.

10. Nonetheless, the recently published resolution of the Tenth Conference of the International Ba'ath Party in Baghdad also includes a strong statement of support for the principle of a National Front. I shall be writing to you separately on this by the same bag.

Yours

Mike

(M. K. Jenner)

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H. Lynchcliffe : A/12 Regi communists

Regis Regis

cut & file 6 P.O.

PAWMS

12/11

Bayda Evacuation Day Rally - Israeli Raid on
Salahiyah - Baghdad Peace Conference -
Pakistan COS in Morocco

The Rhodesian Election Campaign - Denial of
Violence in Zambia - The Non-Aligned
Conference in Tanzania - Dismissal of
Eritrean Revolution Council - Senghor on
Guinean-French Relations

APPENDICES

- A. The Arab World and Israel
- B. Non-Arab Africa
- C. Greece and Turkey

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May 6th, 1970

1031

SPECIAL REPORTS, Cont'd

Iraq

ROW WITH COMMUNISTS. In another development, the Iraqi regime is now engaged in a row with the two factions of the Iraqi Communists --the Central Leadership, headed by Aziz Al Haj, and the regular Central Committee of the Communist Party.

The Central Leadership apparently had issued a statement criticizing the March 11th declaration for settlement of the Kurdish problem on basis of giving the Kurds autonomy in the areas where they form a majority in northern Iraq. The statement charged that the agreement with the Kurds had been reached "behind the back of the people and in isolation of the progressive forces" in Iraq. It said also that the March 11th Declaration was not an expression of the aspirations of the Kurdish people and that "it will remain nothing more than ink on paper" (meaning it will not be implemented).

On Monday, AL THAWRA printed excerpts from the Communist statement, with a comment accusing the Central Leadership of "childish behaviour." The Baathist paper said that such comments would not find response among any of the progressive elements in Iraq "or among the communists themselves."

The truth of the matter is that relations between the Central Leadership and the Baathists in Iraq had deteriorated since the Baathists turned away from the Leadership in favour of cooperation with the rival Central Committee of the Communist Party. The Central Leadership's campaign against the Iraqi Baathists began to come out publicly when a London-based group belonging to the leadership started issuing statements with critical analysis of conditions inside Iraq now. The statements were published in Beirut's AL HORRIYA, which speaks for the Organization of Lebanese Socialists and the commando group, the Popular Democratic Front (PDF) of Nayef Hawatmeh. It will be recalled that AL HORRIYA had also campaigned against the Lebanese Communist Party, and other communists in the Arab world.

Murder Case. At this time, the recent murder of a communist leader in Iraq, belonging to the Central Committee, continued to weigh heavily on the relationship between the Baathists and the Iraqi Communist Party. The communist, Mohammed Ahmed Al Khodari, was murdered by unknown persons early in April.

Late last month, Beirut's AL KIFAH, which supports the Iraqi Baathists, carried a report from its Baghdad correspondent saying that the Iraqi authorities had set up a special committee to investigate the murder, and appointed Makram Talabani, whom AL KIFAH identified as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, as its head.

Now, Mr Talabani has denied AL KIFAH's story. In a statement published yesterday in Beirut's communist AL NIDA, Mr Talabani said it was not true that he was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, nor was it true that he was named the head of an investigation committee. He said that such investigation committee does not exist. All that had happened, according to Talabani, was "that I was allowed to see the report about the initial investigations and was taken to the scene of the crime."

He said also that he was misquoted by AL KIFAH regarding the circumstances of the murderer. The paper had given the impression that Talabani thought that the murder could have been caused by personal reasons, he said.

The Communist Party had accused unidentified official organs of responsibility for the mu-
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Today's Main News and Trends, Cont'd.

PAPER EXPLAINS ARREST OF COMMUNISTS IN IRAQ

Communists

Beirut's daily AL KIFAH, which speaks for the ruling Arab Baath Socialist Party in Iraq, today splashed on its front page what it described as "most reliable" information about the arrests that were recently made in Iraq amongst members of the Iraqi Communist Party. The paper said that the disclosure of this information was to refute charges made recently that the regime in Iraq had been arresting and persecuting "a number of progressive strugglers" as well as other "democratic progressive forces." [The charges had actually come from the communists and the Syrian Baathists through their publications in Syria as well as their mouthpieces in Lebanon such as communist daily AL NIDA and the pro-Syrian Baath daily AL RAYAH.]

Arrests Admitted. AL KIFAH's information admitted that a group of Iraqi communists had actually been arrested recently, but not merely because they were communists. The reason for their arrest, according to the paper, was because the Iraqi authorities had found them in possession of a large cache of arms which included 28 English-made hand grenades, 12 mortar shells, as well as cylinders used as bases for mortar guns.

Official Baathist circles commented on this by saying, according to AL KIFAH, that the nature of the seized quantities of arms did not indicate they were to be used for individual cases of self-defense. They added that possession of such a big cache of arms would not help in promoting the dialogue which had been started between the ruling Arab Baath Party and the Iraqi Communist Party. Despite all this, the paper said, the ruling regime "acted with all caution and reason to maintain the amicable relations with the Communist Party." It summoned some members of the Communist Party's Central Committee and asked them to give an explanation about the cache of arms that was discovered.

What Baathists Said. According to the paper, the Iraqi Baathist officials told members of the Communist Party's Central Committee the following:

"We made the impossible in order to come to power before you, even by one hour, so that we would liquidate the residues of the February 14th (1963) revolution, and eliminate what had happened to the relations between the Baath and the communists under the Baath regime then." [This was a reference to the bloody clashes between the Baathists and the Iraqi communists under the Baath regime in 1963]. The Baathist officials went on, according to the paper: "This behavior of yours (communists) does not harmonize with our desire to consolidate our relations with you..." They added: "We had armed the peasants near the Iranian borders without investigating their political and party affiliations. But we did so because we felt the country was in danger. We are still ready to arm you as well as the whole Iraqi people if this is necessary. If you needed arms, we could give you much more than we found in your possession."

The explanation given to the Baathist officials by the Communists, according to the paper, was that the cache had been there for a long time, and specifically since 1965, but they forgot to tell the authorities about it. It said the explanation was accepted and those who had been arrested (about ten) were gradually released after interrogation with them had been completed. Other communists were also arrested, but later released, during the recent celebrations of Lenin's centenary birthday because they were distributing leaflets criticizing and attacking the Baath regime. Others who were arrested are accused of committing ordinary crimes that are to be dealt with according to the law, the paper said. In the meantime, the paper reported Iraqi authorities as saying that allegations about more Iraqi communists were being detained are unfounded.

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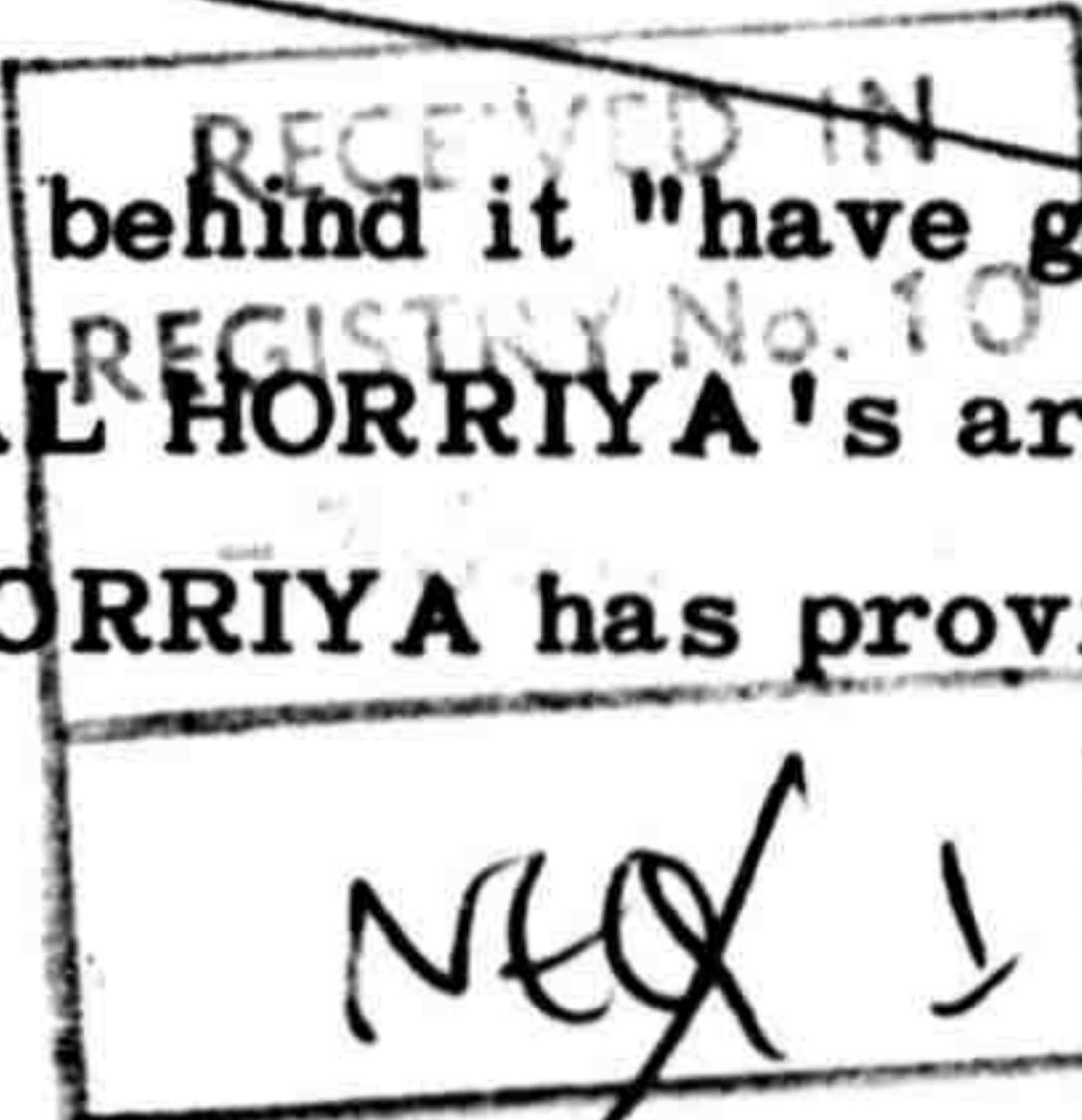
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Today's Main News And Trends, Cont'd

chological warfare against the UAR." The paper added: "The people of AL HORRIYA (meaning the OLS) have unveiled their real identity and their subservience to imperialist quarters. AL HORRIYA has taken the same position as the enemies of the Arab revolution and the enemies of the leadership of President Nasser.

AL SHAAB said that AL HORRIYA and those behind it "have gone astray." Both this paper and AL MOHARRER, also pro-UAR, noted that AL HORRIYA's article was quoted extensively yesterday by Radio Israel. They said that AL HORRIYA has provided the enemy with material to attack President Nasser and his policy.

AS LARGEST BUDGET EVER ANNOUNCED IN IRAQAusterity Measures, New Taxes Defended By Papers

Iraq

For the second day running today, the state controlled press in Baghdad has been defending, in their editorials, the Government's recent austerity measures, and new taxes, emphasizing that Iraq's involvement in the confrontation with the Israeli enemy plus the reconstruction of the northern areas in Iraq required big funds. "And funds don't come from the air", AL THAWRA, which speaks for the ruling Baath Party, said today.

The paper accused unidentified elements of spreading rumours against the Government over an increase in the price of petrol, a rise in the tax on cigarettes and restrictions on imports. Also, all raises to civil servants have been suspended for a whole year.

AL THAWRA pointed out that each Iraqi soldier in the Eastern Front, on the ceasefire line with Israel, costs the Iraqi Government 40 dinars (1 dinar is little more than one sterling pound) a month. Iraq, it will be recalled, has 12,000 troops in Jordan and 6,000 in Syria. This, the paper added, over and above Iraq's assistance to the Palestinian commandos.

AL THAWRA reminded the Iraqis of the austerity in Egypt which, it added, has enabled the Egyptian forces to boost their steadfastness against the Israeli enemy. The Iraqi Government had to choose between austerity and submission to "foreign monopolies, which would mean submission to US designs."

AL JUMHOURIA, said to reflect Government thinking, made similar remarks, but assured the Iraqis that prosperity lies ahead. It referred to a statement made yesterday on Iraqi television by Vice President Saleh Mahdi Ammash, in which he said that an industrial boom will be witnessed by Iraq within the near future. He said the economy will be boosted as a result of exploitation of new oil fields --an allusion to the North Rumeila field-- and the rich sulphur deposits in northcentral Iraq.

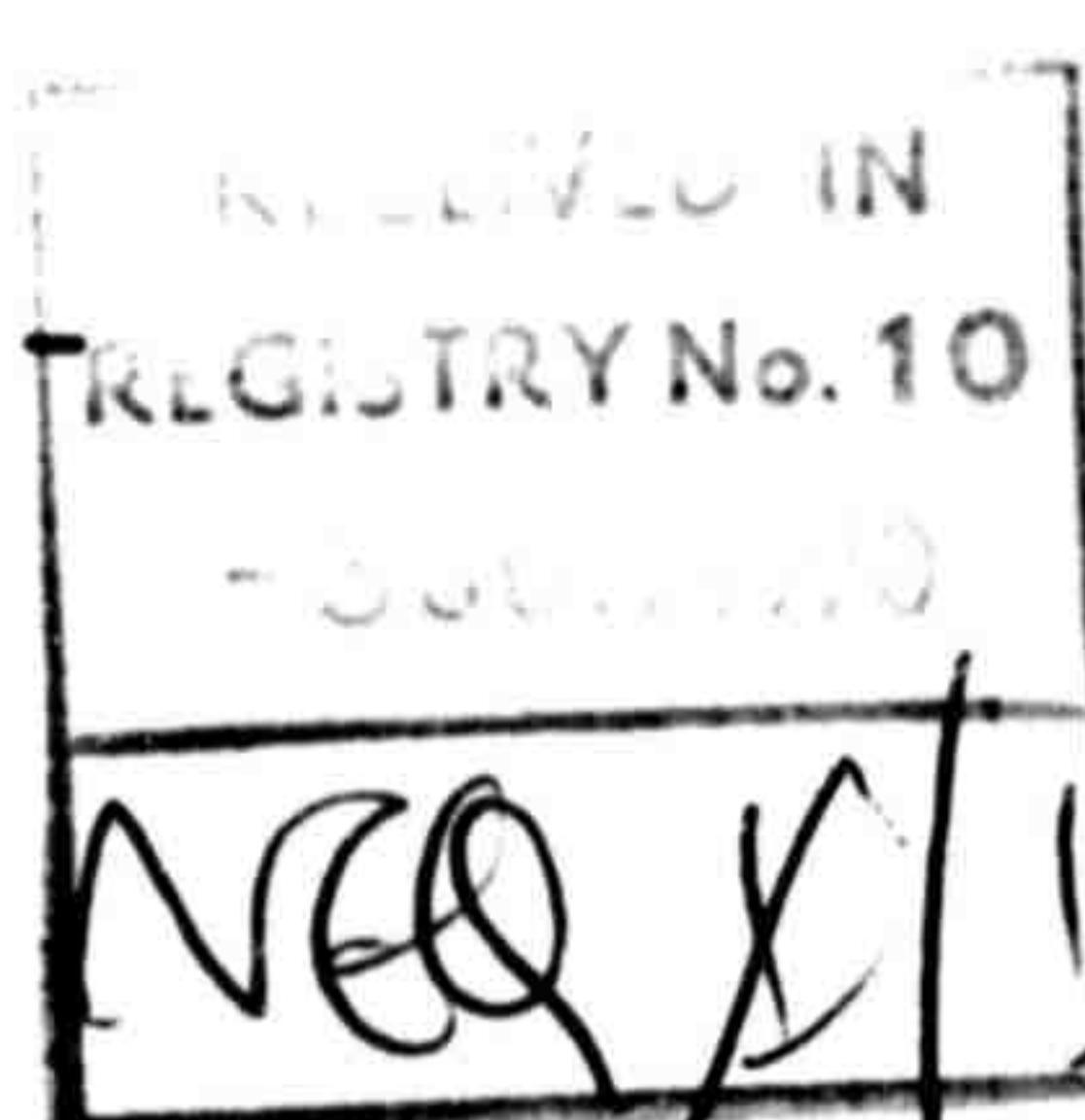
Largest Budget Ever. Yesterday, the Iraqi Government announced the largest budget ever. Government expenditure was put at 753,323,747, dinars, constituting an increase of 78 million dinars over the budget of last year.

Press reports put the deficit in the budget at 35 million dinars. The official Iraq News Agency (INA) said that half of the country's oil revenue will be allocated for the development plans. Iraq's oil revenue is in the neighbourhood of 150 million sterling annually. It comes from the 50-50 profit sharing formula between the Iraqi Government and the Iraq Petroleum Company, the internationally owned consortium which exploits Iraq's oil.

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May 13th, 1970

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(SPECIAL REPORTS)**AS REGIME OFFERS DRAFT "NATIONAL CHARTER"****Trouble With Communists, Other Leftists Seems Brewing**Leftists,
Iraq

For sometime now, reports from Baghdad have been talking about a "dialogue" between the ruling Baath Party and several leftist groups and political parties in Iraq, including the Communist Party, for the purpose of establishing a "national front."

The "dialogue" grew more serious after the Baathist Government promised to establish a legislature, to be called the "National Council", within the near future. The promise was made in the March 11th Declaration for settlement of the Kurdish problem. Other than the Baathists and Kurds, the "National Council" was meant to include representatives from some of the leftist groups in the country.

However, before this could be done, agreement must be reached between the ruling Party and the other leftists on a "national charter" that would incorporate the main principles on basis of which the Baathist cooperation with the leftists would be laid down.

Baath Leadership. Last week, a Beirut newspaper, AL KIFAH, which is close to the regime in Baghdad, carried what it described as the outline of a draft of a national charter prepared by the Baath Party leadership. The draft appeared to be more of an outline of Baathist conditions than general principles for cooperation with the rest of the leftists.

One of the conditions stipulated that the leftist forces joining the projected national front, must "jointly recognize" the leadership role of the Baath Party "at the level of trade unions, popular councils, and the rest of representative institutions."

This means that the ruling Party is stipulating in advance that it must have a majority at all levels, including the projected National Council, which means that the promised national front will have to be under the leadership of the Baathists.

Other conditions, as reported by AL KIFAH, were as follows:

-All groups invited to participate with the ruling Baath Party in the national front "must announce a clear and conclusive opinion about Israel as an entity and about Israeli existence; needless to say that this must be a basic opinion expressing a stable and firm strategy, and must not be a mere tactic."

-All these groups must declare a clear and conclusive opinion about the Palestinian armed struggle and about the Security Council resolution of November 22nd, 1967.

-All these groups must give a clear and conclusive opinion "on the struggle for the sake of Arab unity."

(It would appear that these conditions bear directly on the position of the Communist Party, which has not said clearly whether it supports the elimination of the state of Israel, and which still supports the Security Council resolution of 1967.

(The part concerning Arab unity appears to pertain to the fact that Arab communists in 1958 stood against the merger between Syria and Egypt).

-All these groups must give a clear and conclusive opinion about the Baath Party, and about the national regime in Iraq.

-All these groups must jointly declare their approval of and commitment to the March 11th Declaration for the solution of the Kurdish problem.

-There are no "fronts" inside the Iraqi Army; "the army is the army of the central State and the army of all of Iraq, and is not a combination of groups with varying allegiances to political parties or forces in the country."

-All these groups must not have any relationship with groups outside the national front.

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Today's Main News And Trends, Cont'd

Note to Bakr. AL KIFAH, reporting from Baghdad, disclosed yesterday that the leftist groups, which had been engaged in the "dialogue" with the regime, had submitted a note to President Bakr. The newspaper touched only briefly on the contents of the note, which was said to have been submitted on April 5th, and has became known as the "April 5th Note."

The note, AL KIFAH said, spoke "positively" about the settlement of the Kurdish problem, but in the rest of its parts, it talked of the question of democracy in Iraq, the penial law, and the laws restricting activity of political organizations.

As reported by the Beirut newspaper, the circumstances of presenting the note disclosed that trouble between the Baathists and these groups was far from being over. The groups were identified as follows: the Communist Party, led by Amer Abdullah, Dr Rahim Ajinah, and Makram Talabani,

"The Arab Socialist Movement" led by Abdullah Nasrawi; Mohammed Hussein Roli, and Mahal Hardan Duleimi;

"The Independent Democrats", led by Abdel Fattah Ibrahim; Abdel Wahhab Mahmoud and Dr Mohammed Salman Hassan.

"The National Democratic Party" led by Youssef Al Haj Elias, Abdullah Abbas, and Dr Riada Hallawi.

The paper said that the signatories of the note had asked for an urgent meeting with President Bakr. Because the appointment they requested had to be delayed 24 hours, they sent their note by registered mail to the President, prompting Baathist quarters to describe this as an ultimatum. These quarters, AL KIFAH said, expressed dismay over the way the note was submitted to the President.

Communists Also Branch Out On their Own. AL KIFAH said that although the communist party was the "dynamo" behind these groups, it (party) had branched out and submitted a note to President Bakr on April 2nd, three days before the joint note was also submitted. The paper did not disclose the contents of the communist note, but said that the attitude of the Communist Party evoked surprise both inside Baathist quarters and in the other leftist parties.

NATIONAL COUNCIL. In yet another dispatch from Baghdad, AL KIFAH reported that important steps are expected to be announced next July 17th, to mark the 2nd anniversary of the seizure of power in Baghdad by the Baath Party.

These steps may include the draft law for the establishment of the National Council, as well as the revisions of the provisional constitution that were promised in the March 11th Declaration. AL KIFAH, however, did not expect the National Council to be established before the population census in Iraq, now promised in October, is carried out.

The census too had been provided for under the settlement of the Kurdish problem, and basically aims at determining the size of the Kurdish population and the areas in the north where they are concentrated. It will be recalled that the March 11th Declaration promises autonomy for the Kurds in the areas where they form a majority. It had already been announced that two technicians from the UN had arrived in Baghdad to help in preparation of the census, and that more of these technicians were expected later.

The Saudi authorities took a new step a few days ago concerning the Arabian Gulf. This step has significance and gravity. In short, this step consists of taking the word Arabian out of the name Arabian Gulf. This means that there is collusion between the Saudi regime, Iran, and imperialist quarters on leaving the question of the Arabian Gulf ambiguous and not linking it with the Arab nation. Thus Iran can continue its allegations that the Gulf is Iranian and not Arab.

(14)

Brother strugglers, Saudi reaction has been known for its reactionary anti-Arab nations attitudes since the birth of the Saudi regime. That is why we have to adopt firm positions against this regime, which is against the Arab people and the progressive Arab countries.

(14)

Hadithah Murad's Meeting with Syrian Workers

Damascus home service in Arabic 20.15 GMT 31.5.70

Text of report:

The Ba'th Party Regional Command member and Popular Army Commander Comrade Hadithah Murad has defined the duties of the Popular Army in the event of preparations for war, in the event of restricted war breaking out between the regular forces and the enemy forces, and in the event of a wide confrontation between the regular and the enemy forces.

During his meeting at noon today with the workers attending the courses which have been opened in accordance with the Popular Army plan and which have taken place at the headquarters of the General Federation of Trade Unions, Comrade Hadithah Murad reviewed the political and military situation in the Arab homeland. He pointed out that Iraq had not fulfilled its obligations regarding the eastern front. He said it had met only 20 per cent of the military commitments required for the front.

Discussing the new Israeli manoeuvre represented by Israel's acceptance of the 1967 UN Security Council resolution after having rejected it for three years, Comrade Murad said Israel aimed at obtaining more arms from the USA. He asserted that Israel had accepted the resolution only to weaken the plea of our socialist friends who point to Israel's rejection of the resolution and condemn it for it. He also affirmed that the USA and Israel were seeking to achieve expansionist aims in the interests of the State of Zionists at the expense of the Arab people and to overthrow the progressive Arab regimes which constitute revolutionary bases in the Arab homeland.

Comrade Murad emphasised that the Arab masses and the armed forces would achieve victory only through interaction among the regular Arab forces, the popular armies, and the Palestine Resistance forces.

Uthman ad-Dana's Press Conference of 30th May

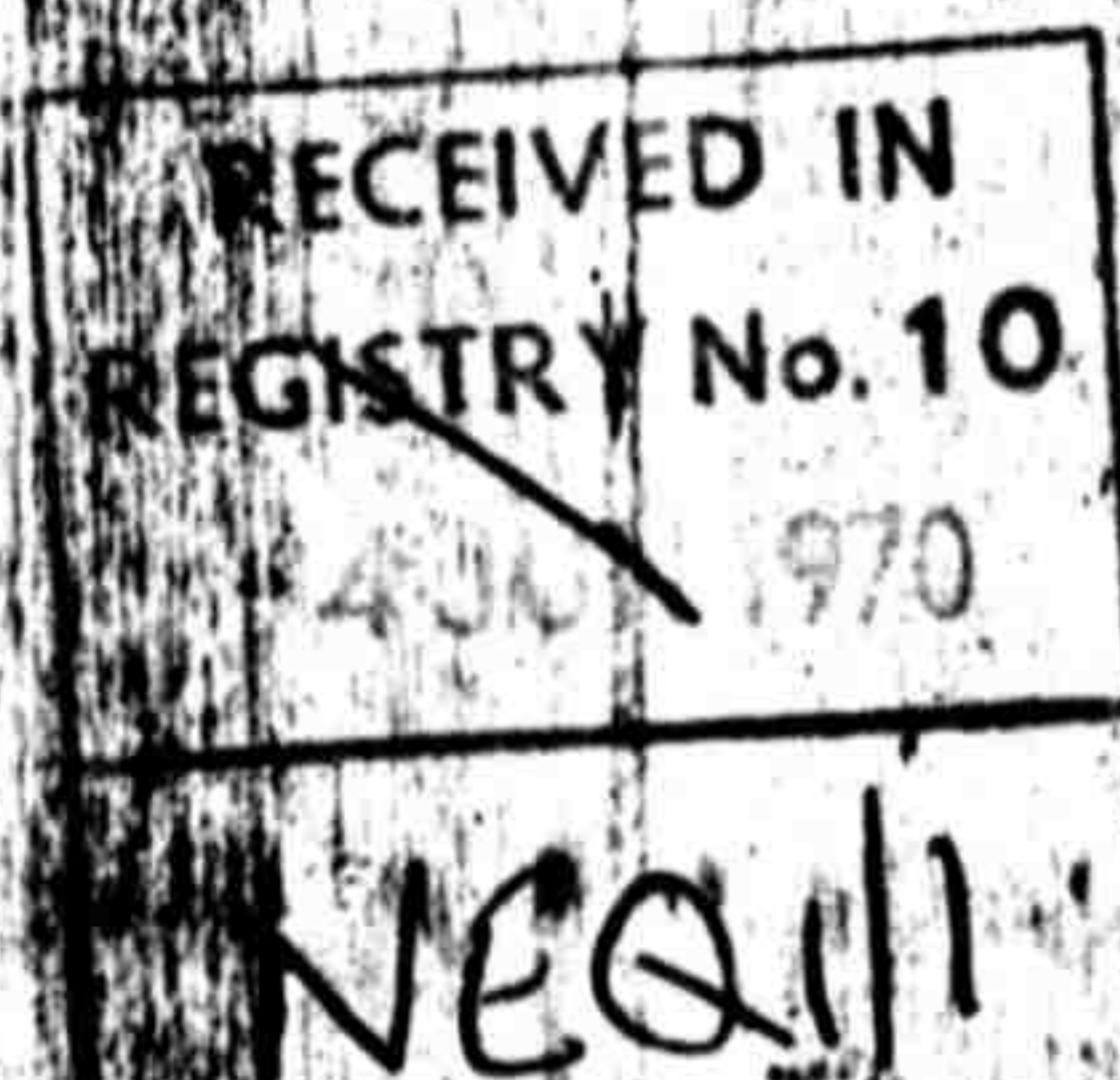
Beirut home service in Arabic 18.00 GMT 30.3.70

Text of report:

The Information Minister, Dana, accompanied by senior officials of the Ministry, called on the Foreign Press Association office in Lebanon this morning at the invitation of the chairman of the Association, George Bitar. This visit is one of a series of meetings with Lebanese politicians organised by the Association.

26/70

Extract from Summary of World Broadcasts



iring at Jordanian territory from Dabbusiyah (Text of Jordanian official statement) At 10.30 yesterday [1. 6. 70] the enemy opened mortar and tank fire from Dabbusiyah position in the occupied Syrian territory on Ushsh position in Saham al-Kifarat area in Irbid Province. The resulting fires destroyed 500 dunams of forests and 80 dunams of wheat. (Amman in Arabic 12.05 GMT 2. 6. 70)

ALF Operation The Abd al-Karim al-Majd Group of the Arab Liberation Front has damaged a water pumping station and silenced an enemy position in the Northern Jordan Valley. (Baghdad in Arabic 15.00 GMT 2. 6. 70)

DPFLP operations On 31st May a Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine group destroyed an enemy position in Galilee. Another group inflicted damage and casualties in the same area. (Damascus in Arabic 18.15 GMT 2. 6. 70)

PLF, ALF and Asifah operations On 21st May Popular Liberation forces destroyed two vehicles in a Rafah filling station. On 25th May a vehicle was destroyed and its three occupants killed in Bayt Hanun. On 31st May a vehicle was damaged and casualties inflicted in Gaza. On 30th and 31st May Arab Liberation Front snipers operated near Tallat Musa and Juddah. On 1st June Asifah forces destroyed a vehicle near Tall al-Qala and a troop carrier near Tall al-Faras in the Golan Heights. Another carrier was destroyed and casualties inflicted further south. Two vehicles were destroyed and a number of soldiers wounded in a camp near Raqib. On 2nd June Asifah fighters fought a 20-minute battle near Haytal in the Golan Heights, inflicting heavy casualties and damage. Four Asifah fighters were killed. ("Voice of Palestine" in Arabic 16.30 GMT 2. 6. 70)

"Voice of Fatah" programme 2. 6. 70 The programme in Arabic (17.30 GMT) praised the Jerusalem strike; said that Israel was trying to hide its losses; reported that Israel radio had announced an economic deficit; and criticised the fact that some "hired writers" were publishing false news about fida'i operations.

Kirkuk Rally of 2nd June

Baghdad home service in Arabic 19.00 GMT 2. 6. 70

Excerpt from report:

A big rally was held in Kirkuk this evening attended by the Regional Command member, Taha al-Jazrawi; the Governor of Kirkuk, Ghanim Abd al-Jalil; the Kurdish Democratic Party Political Bureau member, Mahmud Uthman; Mas'ud Mustafa Barzani; and other Ba'th and Democratic Party members.

Comrade Jazrawi, discussing a number of current national issues, said: The subject of a National Front is a basic issue and has been given great attention by our Party since the 17th July revolution. The debate with the other elements of the national movement met a negative response which is not in the people's interest. They put forward frustrating conditions and showed no real desire for a National Front. They wanted to change the name of the Ba'th Party and its commands. He explained that the debate went on between the Ba'th and the Kurdish Democratic Parties even after the 30th July revolution.

He said that we extended our hand to the Iraqi Communist Party and other national forces because we believed in co-operation and in a national coalition, but our calls had either been rejected or had been met with frustrating conditions.

Comrade Jazrawi said the debate was still going on and that the Ba'th Party would propose a charter for a National Front to achieve the aims and aspirations of the masses...

RECEIVED IN
RADIO NO. 10
5 JUN 1970
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Arab Radio Comment 2.6.70

JORDAN 19.00 GMT: Israeli anxiety as result of June 1967 war.

LEBANON 18.00 GMT: People's and Government's determination to defend southern Lebanon.

LIBYA 13.00 GMT: Principles of Arab policy (see above).

MOROCCO 20.30 GMT: King Hasan II's speech at Administrative Council of the Marketing and Export Bureau.

SYRIA 11.15 GMT: Israeli anxiety due to casualties and invincibility of Arab will.

TUNISIA 12.00 GMT: Welcome given to Bourguiba on his return.

UAR 11.30 GMT: Sa'd Abu as-Su'ud on indications of imminent supply of more Phantoms to Israel. 17.30 GMT ("Spotlight on World Problems"): (i) Recent UAR military successes; (ii) US Zionists' pressure on Congress for more Phantoms for Israel.

"Voice of the Arabs" (Cairo) 10.30 GMT: Hilmi al-Buluk on Eban's report to Knesset on 1st June and US willingness to supply more Phantoms. 13.15 GMT ("Palestine Service"): Last weeks' Palestine developments. 14.15 GMT ("People in Sinai"): Effect of recent fida'i operations in Sinai on Israeli morale. 15.20 GMT ("Conversation with a Listener"): Benefits from Arab complaints to UN Security Council. 16.00 GMT ("Arabian Peninsula"): Samir Abd at-Tawwab on Zionist-imperialist alliance, Arab co-ordination and Qadhafi's tour. 17.00 GMT: Muhammad Uruq on aims of Israeli air raids in Canal area.

"Maghrib Service" (Cairo) 20.30 GMT: Muhammad Abu al-Futuh on the current Arab situation and Israel as an imperialist tool.

Reports in Brief

Nasir at ASU meeting The Arab Socialist Union Supreme Executive Committee held a two-hour meeting under President Nasir at 19.30. The meeting, at the ASU office, was attended by ASU assistant President, Sa'd ad'Din Za'id. (Cairo in Arabic 20.00 GMT 2.6.70)

Talhuni's visit to Cairo Talhuni said on departure from Amman airport that King Husayn's letter to President Nasir dealt with the Arab situation, developments in the Middle East crisis and the situation prevailing in the area. He said: The streamlining of policies by Jordan and the UAR and King Husayn and President Abd an-Nasir dictates the need for the exchange of such visits by officials of the two countries to ensure that progress will continue towards the sublime goal (Amman in Arabic 12.00 GM 2.6.70). Bahjat at-Talhuni arrived in Cairo on the afternoon of 2nd June (Cairo in Arabic 14.00 GMT 2.6.70).

Qa'id Ahmad's tour A joint statement on the talks held in Damascus between the Ba'th Party delegation led by Dr. Nur ad-Din al-Atasi and the FLN delegation led by Qa'id Ahmad rejected the UN Security Council 22nd November 1967 resolution and all other resolutions on the Palestine issue and reaffirmed that armed struggle was the only course open to the Arab nation. It stressed the need to speed up the co-ordination of the eastern and western fronts and thanked the Soviet Union for its support for the Arab struggle. Agreement was reached on detailed plans for Syrian-Algerian co-operation. The statement called on the Palestine National Council to create the necessary conditions for unity of the fighters and the Palestinian people (Damascus in Arabic 18.15 GMT 2.6.70). On 2nd June the Algerian delegation arrived in Baghdad (Baghdad in Arabic 19.00 GMT 2.6.70).

15

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Mr. Reicheloff, NM

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Dear Department,

I do not know how much you have heard about the murder in Bombay on 13 or 14 May of my former Iraqi colleague, Ali Saib, but I think you should know that no-one in Kabul, Afghan or foreigner (except, possibly, the Iraqi Embassy) believes for a moment that it was anything other than a political assassination; and that this is being openly said.

2. Ali Saib was a Kurd from I think Halebja, and his widow (who perhaps unwisely went back to Iraq with his body) is from Basra. I believe he had a brother who is still on the active list in the Iraq Army; but he was of the old regime, among whom he had many friends, some of whom I also know from my time in Baghdad. But he was always perfectly correct, and even in private did not speak against the present Government or indeed anyone else. He was a gentle person, wishing no harm to anyone, a good observer of the local scene (not that his Government would be much interested) and very popular, both among the Afghans and among his diplomatic colleagues.

3. He had just been retired to make way for a younger successor, who left for Baghdad just before the murder and has not yet come back. He had decided to retire to Afghanistan - even though his pension was conditional on his returning to Iraq - and had planned, and bought land, to set up in business here for which he had the King's permission. Meanwhile, he and his wife were on holiday in Bombay, where they had friends, leaving their two daughters here. According to the account reaching Kabul the Iraqi Consul-General in Bombay, whose name is given as Hamad al Khardan, invited him to lunch and, when he arrived, killed him with several shots from a revolver which he had obtained, presumably for the purpose, the previous week. The Iraqis are said to have persuaded the Indian Government to allow the murderer to return to Iraq.

4. I am sending copies of this letter to the Deputy High Commission at Bombay, to the Chanceries at Delhi and Baghdad, and to I.R.D. I should be glad to know whether the locally-current account of the murder is broadly accurate, and for your view on the likelihood or otherwise of the Kabul assumption about the motive.

Yours ever,

(P. L. Carter)

Near Eastern Department,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
London, S.W. 1.

CONFIDENTIAL

*Final
Conclusion*
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~~IRAQ'S NEW PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION SOON~~. A new provisional constitution for Iraq will be issued next month on occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the coup which brought the Baath Party to power. This was announced by Sidam Hussein Takriti, Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Assistant Secretary General of the ruling Baath Party. It will be recalled that the decision to proclaim a new provisional constitution, to replace the one issued in September, 1968, was taken in order to incorporate the promises for a Kurdish autonomy in northern Iraq under the Declaration of March 11th. In fact, Mr Takriti made his statement after returning from the north where he met with Kurdish leader Mulla Mustafa Barzani, apparently to consult him on the last touches to the provisional constitution. Baghdad newspapers yesterday quoted Mr Takriti as saying that he and Barzani reviewed the achievements so far made under the March 11th declaration. He said executive steps had been taken under the declaration and that work was now going on the legislative steps.

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REGISTRY No. 10
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Extract ARAB WORLD

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RECEIVED IN
June 19th, 1970
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L REPORTS

NEW DEVELOPMENTS ON THE IRAQI SCENE

Iraq

Since early this month, new developments have taken place on the Iraqi scene: certain political elements, Baghdad's AL THAWRA reported, tried to stir up trouble during the funeral in Baghdad recently of the late Al Mujtahid Al Amin Mohsen Al Hakim, the spiritual head of the Shia community. Some of the "progressives" were among these elements. Several Baathist leaders declared during the past two weeks that rumour-mongers would be given the same treatment and punishment as the "spies." Mr Sidam Hussein Takriti, Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, has made a sudden visit to the north and met with Mulla Mustafa Barzani, the Kurdish leader. Last week, he headed a meeting of the Council of Ministers, the first such meeting since Cabinet sessions had been cancelled under the constitutional amendment introduced late last year. A meeting of district governors under Vice President Hardan Abdel Ghaffar ended in Baghdad on Wednesday.

What do all these events mean? They seem to indicate some trouble for the Baathist regime, which seized power in July, 1968, and also indicate steps ahead by the regime at the organizational level and where the Kurdish settlement is concerned.

Problem With The Progressives. Signs that the situation between the regime and the so-called "progressive forces" in Iraq was tense appeared recently when these forces submitted a combined note to President Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr demanding reforms, and criticizing certain measures taken by the Government, and when the Communist Party itself submitted a separate note --(it had signed the previous note as well)-- renewing charges of alleged suppression and persecution by the authorities of the communists in Iraq.

But the report that "progressives" tried to foment trouble in Baghdad, making use of the masses that had gathered for the funeral of Al Mujtahid, showed that the anti-regime elements were ready to turn to the streets to show their opposition whenever they had the chance.

As had already been noted, this attitude by the progressives presents the regime with a serious problem, not only because of the opposition but because the regime is seeking to establish a "national front" with the progressives to be the backbone of the projected legislature, the National Council, the establishment of which has been promised under the May 11th Declaration for the settlement of the Kurdish problem.

The regime apparently has been planning to make important announcements to mark the second anniversary next month of its coming to power. The announcements are expected to include a new provisional constitution to incorporate the promises made to the Kurds, as well as the "charter" for the "National Council." Expectations earlier were that the Government had hoped to announce the establishment of the Council itself. Whether this will happen remains to be seen.

B34 TREASON 3: FERTILISER PRODUCTION COSTS OVERESTIMATED

ANOTHER ACT OF TREASON WAS DISCOVERED THIS WEEK. WHILE IN ALGERIA WE VISITED CHEMICAL FERTILISER PLANTS. WE ASKED ALGERIAN OFFICIALS ABOUT THE TRUE COST OF PRODUCING A TON OF FERTILISER THEY SAID IT COSTS 15 DINARS.

SIX TO EIGHT MONTHS AGO WE ASKED CED: PRESUMABLY IRAQI OFFICIALS WHAT IT COST TO PRODUCE A TON AND THEY TOLD US 38 DINARS.

THE BASRA CHEMICAL FERTILISER PLANT UNDER CONSTRUCTION WILL BEGIN PRODUCTION THIS WINTER AT A COST OF 38 DINARS A TON.

WE ARE CONFUSED. A TON SELLS ON THE MARKET AT 30 DINARS. THE PEASANT WILL SAY THAT HE WILL NOT BUY FERTILISERS AT THIS PRICE.

THE ALGERIANS TOLD US: WE ARE CERTAIN OF WHAT WE SAY. SEND YOUR EXPERTS TO US SO WE CAN STUDY THE MATTER AND FIND THE DEFECT. EITHER WE OR YOU ARE WRONG.

MF BBC MON 1/7 SWD

Reg'd. 19
Interv
P.M.
2/1.

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 10 - 2 JUL 1970
NEQ II

B34 TREASON 4:

HAD THE IRAQI OFFICIALS COME TO THE REVOLUTION COMMAND COUNCIL BEFORE BUILDING THE PLANT AND HAD WE KNOWN THE PRODUCTION COST WOULD BE 38 DINARS, WE WOULD HAVE SAID: WE WILL NOT BUILD THE PLANT. WE WOULD RATHER IMPORT THE FERTILISERS.

FOR EIGHT MONTHS NOW WE HAVE BEEN DELIBERATING WHETHER TO CLOSE THE PLANT AFTER SPENDING MILLIONS OF DINARS ON IT AND WHEN IT IS ABOUT TO START PRODUCTION. AT WHAT PRICE ARE WE GOING TO SELL TO YOU, THE PEASANTS? SHOULD WE SELL AT A LOSS THE WAY WE SELL BREAD?

MF BBC MON 1/7 SWD

B34 TREASON 5:

AT A MEETING TO DISCUSS THE MATTER WE FOUND THAT BY ADDING THE AVERAGES OF THE (?WHITE) AND GREEN FERTILISERS AND DIVIDING THIS BY TWO, THE RESULT WILL BE ONE THIRD OF 38 DINARS. WE FOUND THIS OUT YESTERDAY. THE EXPERTS WHO TOLD US IT WOULD COST 38 DINARS WANTED TO UNDERMINE GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO BUILD PROJECTS IN THE INTEREST OF THIS COUNTRY. THIS IS TREASON.

MF BBC MON 1/7 SWD

B34 TREASON 6:

WHEN ACTIONS ARE TAKEN AGAINST SUCH PERSONS PEOPLE CLAIM THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS FIGHTING DEVOUT PERSONS, ULEMA AND TRIBES. THE BROTHERS AND COMRADES HAVE ALREADY TOLD YOU ABOUT THE INCREASE IN RUMOURS AND ALLEGATIONS. I WANT YOU TO BE AWARE OF THE AIMS BEHIND THEM SO THAT THE REVOLUTION MAY CONTINUE ITS PROGRESS IN THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE.

END BBC MON 1/7 (KYO) 16.32 SWD

CONFIDENTIAL



BRITISH EMBASSY
BAGHDAD

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RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10
- 3 JUL 1970
NEQIL

25 June 1970

Dear Sirs,

Murder of Iraqi Diplomat in Bombay

f40

Please refer to the letter of 3 June from H.M. Ambassador in Kabul about the murder of Ali Saib, his former Iraqi colleague.

2. The version of this story which is current in Baghdad is that the Iraqi Consul General in Bombay had a pathological belief, dating from his service with Ali Saib in Madrid, that Ali Saib had been over-friendly with his wife. Certainly the story that the murder was politically motivated seems a little far-fetched here. There are many "old régime" Iraqis living abroad, and there are also many exiles from former revolutionary régimes, with whom the Ba'athist régime has not interfered. If the unfortunate victim had been a more sinister enemy of the Ba'athists than would appear to be the case, and if the Iraqis had decided to dispose of him, they would have found a better way of going about it; they do have after all a certain amount of experience in these matters.

Yours
M. K. Jenner
(M.K. Jenner)

I am in my
Reg. Rs.
P.M.
3/7

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.
London S.W.1.

copies to: Chanceries: Kabul, Delhi
Deputy High Commission, Bombay
I.R.D.

LAST REF.	
PREV REF.	
NEXT REF.	
REF.	

P.S. Since signing this I have seen Ann Elwell's letter PRG 2/359/2 of 19 June which seems to confirm the story here that the murder arose from a personal difference.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~D~~o not attempt to promise the peasant more than you can offer, and do not promise more than the revolution can offer, because if you make a promise and do not fulfil it the peasant comes to regard us - the revolution, the peasant societies and this march - as false...

You must recognise some of the peasant's ideas when you talk to him. Do not attempt to force ideas down the peasant's throat... Make it your aim to evolve the individual's social concepts into the new progressive revolutionary spheres which you understand. But to reach this goal, use flexible methods which will achieve it. Do not attempt to place yourself above the peasant or the individual...

Let me again assert the necessity to understand our duties, and the necessity to let others discuss our merits; and let others and this society speak about our readiness to sacrifice more than others and our greater readiness for confrontation and endurance...

08.42 GMT (Text of Bakr's speech) Brothers, I bless your conference, welcome you and wish you success. The brothers and comrades have spoken enough. I only want to make a few remarks. Every progressive revolution faces hardships when implementing its programme and working for its objectives. There are many causes of these hardships, foremost of which are the people whose interests are harmed by the application of the principles of the socialist progressive revolution.

In the period since the 17th July revolution a number of laws have been promulgated and measures taken. These Government and Party measures harmed a number of persons. But these measures were essential to the interests of the whole population. Naturally, this unjust handful of people began spreading rumours and allegations, especially after they were instigated by the enemies of the revolution outside the country. This was particularly noted when the Government punished the spies. True, this was unprecedented. Not a single spy had been executed in the Middle East. But spies existed in Iraq.

The reaction of these harmed people was strong. The same thing applied to other laws, whether on trade or agrarian reform. These people resorted to all kinds of excuses and began spreading rumours that the Government was going to strike so and so, or such and such a tribe, town, sect or group.

The revolution's achievements in agriculture are clear to you. These verbose people did not utter a single word when the land was barren and dry, when parts of it were - and some of them still are - useless because of salt, when production was meagre and when there was not a single machine tilling the land. After all these achievements and reforms, these verbose people are now heard telling lies to undermine the revolution. It is your duty to watch out for these things and to refute their allegations.

There are many kinds of agents and spies. A spy is not only the one who writes and sends reports to a foreign quarter saying the Government is doing such and such a thing or taking such and such an action. Let me quote two examples of treason and espionage which were discovered this month. A number of you must have heard about the sulphur production plant in Kirkuk and the gas plant which pipes gas to citizens. These two plants cost the State 27,000,000 dinars. The two plants are still not operational. They will cost us another 3,000,000 dinars. The total cost will thus be 30,000,000 dinars. This additional sum of 3,000,000 is the result of treason by those responsible for the two projects.

The Kirkuk plant was to pipe clear and clean gas. For two years now, whenever we operated the plant, the equipment shook and broke down. We were compelled to replace it. We also consulted experts on the defect, but the experts could not pinpoint the defect. They did not tell us the gas must be clean or that an instrument could be added to the plant to clean the gas and make it reach Baghdad clean. We discovered this only this week. The plant's requirements say that the gas entering the plant must be clear and clean. What treason.

We are not against prosperity. On the contrary, our revolution has come to bring prosperity to every citizen in this society. It intends to preserve the dignity and respect the freedom of such a citizen... We are not against making a profit or against private property, but we are against the dishonest use of such property or using it to enslave others. The reactionary person is the one who stands against the revolution changing decayed relations based on exploitation. He is the one who turns towards agent countries for support and against the revolution...

In order for a reactionary to achieve his aims, he exploits our shortcomings and takes advantage of our defects; defects in our upbringing, our guidance, our behaviour and our understanding. When you define the feudalist and the reactionary as the well-dressed person who owns some property, you are facilitating the task of reaction and agents because you will push non-reactionary people into the reactionary ranks...

When you refer to the revolution as the revolution of workers and peasants and you think of it as being only to benefit workers and the peasants rather than your national and class interests, you will provoke the broad Iraqi masses against the revolution and against yourself. It is true that the revolution is for the workers and peasants because they are the majority of those who are wronged in this society. However, this does not mean they alone are wronged. The revolution is for the workers and peasants as well as for every honest employee who carries out his duties, properly serves society and protects the country's interest.

The revolution's aims are not only to serve class interests. Its aims are both patriotic [Arabic: wataniyah] and national [Arabic: qawmiyah]. Its aim is not only to remove injustice to the peasant and the worker, but to remove all injustices resulting from political oppression, violation of dignity and putting the will of imperialism above the will of the individual...

We must know the limits of our freedom and how to behave when we call on the district officer or the agrarian reform officer on business. We should not think of ourselves as above the law or above society. We should think of ourselves as part of society, a more conscious part of society... We can distinguish ourselves in society only by being more reasonable and more ready to give, to make sacrifices and to be patient.

At times wrong concepts develop in our ranks. We speak about revolutionism and think revolution means chaos or violating the rules of society. A true revolutionary is one who is aware of the facts of society and who tries to change them through new values. These values should be compatible with the awareness of the society and the potentials of the revolution. They should also be compatible with the forces allied to the revolution. Therefore, when we speak about revolution we should realise that revolution is for the law and not against it. Revolution means adherence to and respect for the rules of the revolution and means teaching the people these rules rather than opposing them. Revolution is respecting the right of other people, rather than violating them.

If we understand our relations and the limitations of such relations with society on this basis, we would be able to place ourselves where we should be and would be of great benefit to society. We would also foil the attempts of elements that fish in troubled waters...

Some of you want power and more power to the point that one overreaches one's powers at times. Power is acquired through conscientious and proper actions. You cannot ask the revolution or the employee concerned or the peasant societies or your Party to give you power unless you are able to exercise such power...

We should not rush matters in such a way as to push those who may be friends and the masses of the revolution into the ranks of the enemies. You are peasants, whereas I belong to the townspeople, and it may be that you understand the peasant's psychology better. However, I also am acquainted with the peasant's psychology and I want to speak about one aspect of it. The most important possession of an individual in society is his dignity, to the extent that it is above any other consideration... The peasant has a set of standards on which you should not trespass in your peasant unionist work...

Another act of treason was discovered this week. While in Algeria we visited Algerian chemical fertiliser plants. During our conversation we asked the Algerian officials about the real cost of producing one ton of fertilisers. They said: It costs 15 dinars here.

We asked the officials the same question six or eight months ago. We asked them about the production cost of one ton of fertilisers. They told us 38 dinars. The Basra chemical fertiliser plant under construction will begin production this winter at a cost of 38 dinars per ton. We are confused. The ton in the market is sold at 30 dinars. How can we sell at this price? The peasant will say that he will not buy the fertilisers at this price. He can do without the chemical fertilisers. In our discussion with the Algerians they said: We are certain of what we have said. Send your experts to us so that we can study the matter and find the defect. Either we or you are wrong.

It is a fact that had the Iraqi officials come to the Revolution Command Council before building the plant and had we known the production cost would be 38 dinars, we would have said: We will not build the plant. We would rather import the fertilisers.

For eight months now we have been discussing the question. Should we close the plant after spending millions of dinars on it and when it is about to start production? At what price are we going to sell to you, the peasants and your brothers? Should we sell at a loss the way we sell bread [Arabic: sammun]?

A meeting was held to discuss the matter. We found that by adding the averages of the white and green fertilisers and dividing this by two, the result would be one-third of 38 dinars [sentence as heard]. Yes, we found this out yesterday. Why? Because the devout experts who answered 38 dinars whenever we asked them about the price wanted to undermine the Government's efforts to build projects in the interest of this country. This is treason.

When actions are taken against such persons, people claim that the Government is fighting devout persons, ulema and tribes. The brothers and comrades have already told you about the increase in rumours and allegations. I want you to be aware of the aims behind them so that the revolution will continue its progress in the service of the people.

Once again I wish your conference success. Peace be upon you.

Kurdish Democratic Party Conference

Baghdad home service in Arabic 15.00 GMT 1.7.70

Excerpts from report:

The eighth conference of the Kurdish Democratic Party was held at 09.00 today in the Nawbardan area of Jalalah region, Arbil Province, under the auspices of President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr. The conference was opened on behalf of the President by Mulla Mustafa Barzani, leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party. The conference was attended by the Ba'th Party delegation led by Comrade Muhammad Sulayman, member of the National Command of the Party; delegations of the national parties, forces and organisations; a delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation; a delegation of the Kurdish Democratic Party organisation in Europe; a delegation of the Kurdish Students' Federation in Europe; a delegation of the Kurdish Fraternity Association in Lebanon; a delegation of Kurdish youths from the United States; and representatives of popular and professional organisations of the Party in Iraq. The conference was also attended by the members of the Party Political Bureau and Central Committee; the Kurdish ministers; and 500 delegates representing the Party rank and file.

At the beginning of the morning session, which was held under the slogan "Peace, friendship, and national unity", the conference observed one minute's silence to mourn the martyrs of Kurdistan and Iraq.

Barzani, in an impromptu speech, then greeted the delegations and guests, saying: We are proud of your attendance at our conference held under the auspices of HE President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr. I talk to you not in my capacity as the Party leader but as a servant of the Iraqi people, and in the name of fraternity, peace and national unity. I hope all of us will co-operate for Iraq's progress and prosperity.

Barzani declared that there was full co-operation between the Government and the people to apply the historic 11th March statement and establish a solid national unity. Everybody should have good will and a pure heart, and our goal should be to serve the sons of the Iraqi people, Barzani added. We should forget the negative aspects of the past and also individual malevolence.

Concluding his statement, Barzani said: I have great hope that our conference and our Party, in co-operation with the Ba'th Party and the national forces, will be able to establish justice, amity, friendship and peace in our dear Iraq.

Muhammad Sulayman, member of the Ba'th Party National Command and head of the Party's delegation to the conference, then delivered a speech in which he said:

In the name of the Ba'th Party and the victorious 17th July Revolution Command, I greet you and hope that at this conference you will achieve complete progress and success. The conference is the fruit of the great achievement of the struggle of both our parties and our peoples on 11th March. We are confident that this conference, which is being held after the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish question, will prominently contribute to the consolidation of the fighting unity between the Arab and the Kurdish peoples, expand the national unity, and strengthen the peaceful democratic solution.

In the name of my colleagues in the Party I confirm to you, on the occasion of the opening of this conference, that the Ba'th Party firmly believes in the national rights of the fraternal Kurdish people, and that the struggle of the Arab and the Kurdish peoples is one struggle, having the same goals and the same policies...

The 11th March statement was not only a great historical achievement but remains a very valuable and dear achievement to the millions of Arabs and Kurds who have given their consent to it...

Omdurman Radio on Reactionaries in South Sudan

Omdurman in English 16.30 GMT 30.6.70

Excerpts from commentary:

The Minister of Interior, Maj. Karuq Hamadallah, has disclosed at his televised and radio press conference last week many facts in connection with the conspiracy of last March which aimed at assassinating men of the revolution Government. The Minister also spoke about the activities of the conspirators in the South. He said that documents and papers found with the plotters, led by Hadi Abd ar-Rahman, confirmed that they were working for gathering the hostile and mutinying elements in Southern Sudan with the purpose of escalating the tension there for the service of their own ends. Several references to the South and southerners were made in these documents. One of the documents or letters which was sent to Hadi said that the situation in the South was worse and tense...

Cutting dated



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Mr. Hinchliffe
22

Iraq sabotage bids

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BEIRUT, July 2.

THERE are signs the Iraqi regime is facing new internal political troubles on the second anniversary of its advent to power. A decree issued in Baghdad to-day by the Revolutionary Council, the highest authority in the country, dismissed one of its members, Salah Omar al Ali, and removed him as Minister of Information without explanation. Al Ali is also a member of the leadership of the ruling Baath Party.

Observers are inclined to attach seriousness to this development because it indicates a certain degree of split inside the regime itself.

The move came 24 hours after Iraq's two top leaders talked of attempted sabotage at two new factories and "moves by anti-revolutionary elements."

President Ahmed Hassan al Bakr in a speech last night disclosed that a fertiliser plant and a sulphur factory in northern Iraq had to be kept idle following discovery of sabotage attempts. He said technicians at the sulphur plant suggested the use of a certain type of gas which would have completely destroyed the factory's machines. As to the fertiliser plant, in the northern town of Kirkuk, he said that technicians there said each

ton of fertiliser produced there would cost about £38 which was more than it cost to import the stuff.

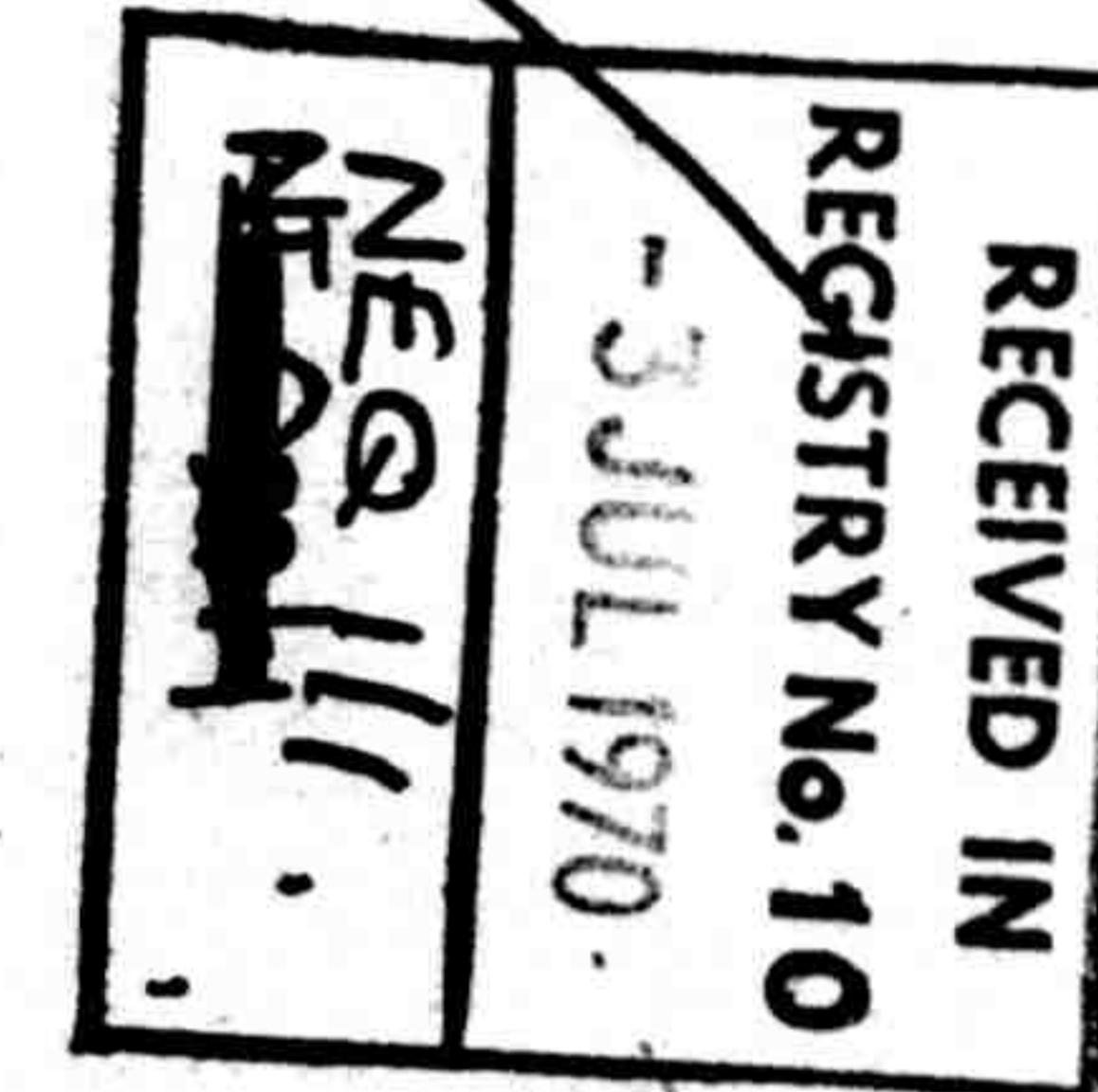
The President said investigations had shown one ton of fertiliser should not cost more than £15. He charged there was a deliberate attempt to undermine both plants so as to obstruct the country's development schemes.

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B9 IRAQ: INFORMATION MINISTER LOSES POST

CIRQAQI NEWS AGENCY) BAGHDAD: A REPUBLICAN DECREE WAS ISSUED
THIS MORNING RELIEVING THE CULTURE AND INFORMATION MINISTER,
SALAH UMAR AL-ALI, OF HIS POST.

END BBC MON (KY) 2/7 EM 1113



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B19 IRAQ: FOREIGN MINISTER TO ACT AS INFORMATION MINISTER CADD TO B

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(BAGHDAD RADIO) UNDER A REPUBLICAN DECREE, THE FOREIGN MINISTER, ABD AL-KARIM AL-SHAYKHLI, IS TO ACT AS CULTURE AND INFORMATION MINISTER IN PLACE OF SALAH UMAR AL-ALI.

END BBC MON CKY 2/7 EM 1408

M: Hinchliffe, N.E.D. *mm* *jk*

I. G. MACPHERSON

33 CAVENDISH SQUARE,

LONDON, W. 1.

01-629 9405.

8371/B

Does this accord

26th June, 1970.

with our own

understanding?

Intervention? Could I give M: M. some
Comments some time

Dear Colin,

I enclose a note on the Iraq Budget for 1970/71
which you may find of interest.

Yours sincerely,

Den

I.G. Macpherson.

OB₂₉/6

In Picture
NEQ 5/2.

f (4)

C.T. Brant, Esq.,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
Room 64, Ground Floor, Oil Dept.,
Great George Street,
LONDON, S.W.1.

PS *mm*

6/7

THE IRAQ BUDGET 1970-71

(Figures are I.D. million)

1. Although the Official Gazette is not yet to hand, the Baghdad press has carried more details than are usually announced and they cover all points of importance. Budget day was marked by a number of official speeches which contained information of economic interest and comments are given in the second part of this paper.
2. The basic figures announced, compared with last year, are as follows :

	Expenditures		Revenues	
	70/71	69/70	70/71	69/70
A. Ordinary Budget	257.5	268.0	257.5	262.6
B. Economic Plan	116.5	111.4	116.5	89.2
C. Autonomous Agencies	379.3	287.2	344.2	263.2
State Budget	753.3	666.6	718.2	615.0

Following the re-statement last year (reference i) we would combine the figures as follows :

	Expenditures		Revenues	
	70/71	69/70	70/71	69/70
A/B Governmental Sector	374.0	362.9	344.7	335.1
C Semi-governmental (net)			-35.1	-20.1
			309.6	315.0

It is noticeable that expenditures and revenues in the Governmental sector as announced have been shown in exact balance (compare Baath Party practice in Syria). The re-statement shows the expected position when items of double counting and foreign loans are eliminated. This year there is provision for an additional 5 from an internal loan, which in a later announcement has been stated to take the form of lottery bonds.

3. It will be seen that virtually the whole of the expansion is under heading C, semi-governmental. On a detailed examination this arises from a continuation of the expansion in the number of such agencies which we have already commented on (reference ii) and the reason is probably the same, viz, to increase borrowing powers. For instance, the Government Press is now shown as autonomous with gross expenditure and revenue instead of being a department of the Ministry of Finance with only a net figure. The additional agencies this year account for some 48 of the increase in the budget. The second main reason for the increase, totalling 41, is in larger allocations to the various Government purchasing agencies, such as the Afro-Iraqi Company which has been increased from 10 to 17. There has been no announcement of any corresponding increase in the tight import controls.

4. Oil revenues are again estimated at 170, split between ordinary budget and the economic plan. Of the other revenue figures there is no sign in the actual results to date from Customs and Excise that the anticipated level will be reached. In the budgeted expenditures Police remains at 21 but Defence has surprisingly been reduced from 105 to 85; it may perhaps reflect peace in Kurdistan, but see comment 1(c). Pensions again increase from 15 to 18.5; other changes are minor.

5. In spite of the increase in the number of autonomous agencies, which have now reached 57, there is still no reference to INOC. Among the others are the following :

	Expenditure		Revenue	
	70/71	69/70	70/71	69/70
Iraqi Ports	10.0	11.6	11.6	11.5
Government Oil Refineries	23.0	20.4	21.9	19.4
Oil Products Distribution	15.5	14.4	9.7	10.2
Oil Planning & Construction	1.6	1.2	1.1	0.7
Inspectorate of Oil	0.1	-	0.1	-
Iraqi Maritime Transport	3.6	1.6	1.5	1.5

6. Actual figures in the Governmental sector continue to appear, though very belated. But there have been no figures for the results of the autonomous agencies since they were amalgamated with the state budget in 1966. A version of the table given with last year's report, brought up-to-date as far as possible, is attached.

Part 2

Extracts from Speeches, with comments

Budget day was marked by a number of speeches (reference iv) in which the following items are thought worthy of comment.

1. Saddam Hussein (Secretary of Baath Party)

- (a) *"There is to be a complete stop in increments for all state officials including Army Officers".*
- (b) *"The price of motor spirit is increased by 10 fils to 150 fils per gallon and that of gas oil by 15 to 60 fils per gallon".*

It has for some time been difficult to distinguish how much of the retail selling price of petroleum products is the official excise element.

- (c) *"Expenditure on the "Eastern Front" is I.D. 60 million".*

Newspapers have reported that Iraq has 12-15,000 troops in Jordan out of a military strength of 70-75,000. This figure should be compared with the new reduced budget figure of 85 for total military expenditure.

- (d) *"You know Qassim had disposed of I.D. 200 million out of Development allocations".*

No such figures can be traced in any previous public statement, and it is not easy to explain. In all official financial publications in Qassim's time and since the amount taken from Development funds is shown as 53. A previous statement (reference i) had suggested that another 15 had been taken for internal use, almost certainly in Qassim's time. We have also surmised (reference iii) that there has been an unrecorded outflow of foreign exchange, and following back that line of reasoning the amount by the time of Qassim's death in February, 1963 might have been some 60-65. Altogether these are still well short of 200, but if further account is taken of Qassim's reduction of Development allocations from 70% to 50% of the oil revenues from January, 1960 onwards then another 62 Development money was disposed of elsewhere, bringing the total to approximately 200. However every subsequent Iraq Government has continued the 50% figure in theory, and less in practice, and few are in a position to criticise it.

- (e) *"Soviet fighter aircraft are costing Iraq one million dinars each".*

(In answer to a questioner, who supposed them a free gift).
|| This is an indication that expenditure of which there is no record in the official accounts is continuing.

2. Ammash (Vice President)

- (a) *"The backlog of irrigation projects is to be made good by voluntary labour throughout the country".*
- (b) *"The Basrah shipyard to be developed by the Soviet Union will build 1,000-1,500 tonners at the average of 60 per year. Among others, 10 of these will be for transporting petroleum products".*

The Russians first undertook to develop the Basrah shipyard in August, 1959.

3. Abdul Karim (Minister of Finance)

"The Government inherited a huge financial deficit and is having to take measures connected with the position. The 1969 budget as promulgated showed a deficit of only 5 million and the 1970 budget as promulgated is in balance".

4. Fakhir Qadouri (Minister of Economy)

"Iraq is to get a tanker fleet in 1972-74. The cost will be 30 millions which Iraq must make available and for which she must embark on a policy of austerity. From 1973 Iraq will have a source of foreign currency many times the cost of the tankers".

At the date of the speech there had only been news of contacts with Yugoslavia for perhaps two tankers. Since then Spanish ship builders have said that they have received a £25 million contract to build seven 35,000-ton tankers for Iraq by the end of 1973.

References:

- (i) EC/CON/25 August, 1969 (Letter to Groups 7543)
- (ii) EC/CON/16 May, 1968 (Letter to Groups 6613)
- (iii) EC/CON/29 February, 1970 (Letter to Groups 5172)
- (iv) Baghdad Observer 13-14 May, 1970.

IRAQ GOVERNMENT COMPREHENSIVE SUMMARY (I.D. millions)

REVENUES		66/7	67/8(b)	68/9(c)	69/70	70/71
Oil	<i>Budget</i>	140.0	140.0	145.6	170.0	170.0
	<i>Actual</i>	122.4	(151.6)	(174.8)	((168.9))	
Customs and Excise	<i>Budget</i>	50.0	50.0	52.0	73.5	77.7
	<i>Actual</i>	50.2	(43.8)	(43.9)		
All other real (see text)	<i>Budget</i>	50.1	50.1	81.7	91.6	97.0
	<i>Actual</i>	46.6	(64.0)	(57.5)	-	-
TOTAL	<i>Budget</i>	240.1	240.1	279.3	335.1	344.7
	<i>Actual</i>	219.2	(259.4)	(276.2)		
EXPENDITURE						
Defence Sector	<i>Budget</i>	78.6	85.1	97.1	142.3	111.7
	<i>Actual</i>	100.3	(77.9)	(79.6)		
Remainder Economic Plan	<i>Budget(a)</i>	94.6	89.8	51.9	79.0	110.7
	<i>Actual</i>	66.1	(52.3)	(38.8)		
All other	<i>Budget</i>	110.1	112.5	128.0	141.6	151.6
	<i>Actual</i>	108.8	(101.4)	(99.2)	-	-
TOTAL	<i>Budget(a)</i>	283.3	287.4	277.0	362.9	374.0
	<i>Actual</i>	275.2	(281.6)	(217.6)		
TOTAL GOVERNMENTAL Deficit/Surplus	<i>Budget</i>	-43.2	-47.3	+2.3	-27.8	-29.3
	<i>Actual</i>	-66.0	(+27.8)	(+50.0)		
Foreign Loans	<i>Budget</i>	32.4	12.0	5.4	27.7	16.9
	<i>Actual</i>	6.2	(3.3)	(1.6)		
All autonomous ad- ministrations etc (NET)	<i>Budget</i>	+6.3	-21.0	-20.1	-24.0	-35.1
	<i>Actual</i>	(+1.5)	-	-	-	-
COMPREHENSIVE TOTAL	<i>Budget</i>	-4.5	-56.3	-12.4	-24.1	-47.5
Deficit/Surplus	<i>Actual</i>	(-19.4)				

Note (a) after subtracting from published
budgets the sums of: (explained in text)

33.0

35.9

79.9

16.5

12.4

Note (b) Provisional. Note (c) 11 months to February, with March oil payment added.

CONFIDENTIAL

Oil Department

2 July, 1970

NEQ 1/1

2/25

The Iraqi Economic Situation

Thank you very much for your letter of 26 June (8371/B), enclosing a note on the Iraqi budget for 1970/71.

2. We found this an interesting analysis of the Iraqis' present economic situation. May I repay the compliment with the enclosed copy of a report which Baghdad sent us in May on the economic implications of recent speeches by the Ba'ath leaders? I should be grateful if you could let me have the letter back when you have seen and shown it as necessary. It seems to present a more cohesive picture than we have had earlier of Iraqi Ba'athist economic philosophies. The confirmation of certain aspects of Iraq's financial relations with the Soviet Union, which we discussed earlier in connexion with last month's "Nahar" article, also seems significant.

PMMA 6/7 B.

(C.T. Brant)

M:G/M:Brant

I.G. Macpherson, Esq.,
Iraq Petroleum Company,
33, Cavendish Square,
W. 1

You may wish to see this account of the Iraqi economic situation (ar-736 - Nagt), as background to the IPC situation.

A good half of our work seems to be revolving around Iraq these days!

Brant-2/7

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr Bent, Sir Dent many thanks. Draft 1:
 Mr Bent Macpherson

1 Dec 1970 1971

Ob/7

I have taken a copy of
 the IPC report.

2. I have no comments on Part 1.

3. Part 2 File 369 to

attached file. No. 1, is relevant. (This
 has intended to go to your department but
 in my scheme nothing went wrong!) The
 figures as well among the economic difficulties
 are we anxious to allow them a cushion
 beyond the control - gas, in, co-operation
 with Israel. need to use Soviet aid & has
 for military equipment etc.

You might like to send Part 2 — ^{(a)(6)} to
 Mr Macpherson as a counter to his own
 report.

R M Hinchliffe

recd

30/6

B PMM
 6/7

- 41 -

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 10
1 JUL 1970
NEQI,

July 3rd, 1970

L REPORTS

Arab World

26

POLITICAL TROUBLES IN IRAQ? TALK OF ANTI-REVOLUTIONARIES AND REACTIONARIES RECURS

Iraq

When the Iraqi leaders and press begin to talk about "counter revolutionaries", "reactionaries", and "imperialist agents", it spells political trouble that had either occurred or is in the process of happening.

The country's top leaders are now talking about this subject, and their charges have been echoed and dramatised by the state-controlled press in Baghdad. Wrote AL JUMHOURIA in a leading editorial yesterday: "The Revolution in Iraq has its eyes on all suspicious moves, and possesses enough strength to expose and crush all anti-revolutionary schemes."

The paper, whose editorial was reproduced extensively by the official BAGHDAD RADIO, was commenting on speeches delivered the day before by President Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr, and his Deputy, Mr Sidam Hussein Takriti. President Bakr talked of two attempted sabotage actions in factories, and described those responsible as spies and traitors (see our bulletin yesterday).

The President did not disclose any names, but it would go without saying that those responsible at the two factories, a sulphur factory and a fertilizer plant, have been arrested. It is also expected that new trials will be held soon. The news could be linked to reports from Baghdad last week that a special court had been set up to try those engaged in what was described as "economic crimes." On the other hand, President Bakr gave a political colour to the reported attempts, and said that they were aimed at undermining the security of the state. This is a far more serious charge than just an economic offense.

Who the Anti-Revolutionaries Are. Mr Takriti, who, like President Bakr, was speaking at the annual meeting in Baghdad of the Federation of Farmers Associations, said that all those whose interests have been harmed by the measures taken by the revolutionary regime, have joined hands and made a common cause in a counter-revolutionary move. He said that these persons have been hiding behind all kinds of masks.

"We are ready", he declared, "to confront the agents of Iran, America and Britain, and all the reactionaries." The revolution will strike them down with its iron fist, he stated. Then he set out to define what is meant by a "reactionary."

Mr Takriti warned the farmers against falling under the impression that the only way to identify a reactionary is by the neat way he is dressed. This would mean, he said, that the revolution stands against neatness in dress. "On the contrary, we want all people to be well and neatly dressed", he said. A reactionary, he went on, is every person who stands against the aspiration of the people and against the goals of the revolution. These persons, he said, finally find themselves subservient to imperialism and foreign quarters. "Looking out for such elements is part of being a revolutionary", he said, and emphasized that the revolutionary regime was now in the process of "isolating" all the "reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries" in order to insulate the revolution and the masses against them.

He agreed that certain Iraqis have been deceived, and that they appear to act in a counter-revolutionary way because they had been led astray by the real anti-revolutionary elements. These too have to be separated from the bad influence and led on the right course again.

Mr Takriti, who is Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) and As-

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NEQ. 111

KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL

get July

(e)

**IRAQI
COMMUNIST
PARTY
ACCUSED
OF PLOT**

BAGHDAD,

Tuesday, Cables.
RADIO Baghdad last night bitterly attacked the Iraqi Communist Party accusing them of trying to topple the Ba'athist Government with the help of Mulla Mustafa Barzani's Kurdish irregulars.

The radio also attacked the National Democratic Party of Kamel Chadorchi for refusing to join a "united front" proposed by the Ba'athists.

"These people," the radio, said, "are opportunists and bourgeois elements who talk only nonsense."

The radio went on to accuse the Communists of "ingratitude" toward the Ba'ath Party. "It was the Ba'ath that released you from prison and gave you good jobs," it said.

"The Communists say they want a restoration of democracy in Iraq," the radio said. "But isn't this what we have already done?"

"The Communists took part at the Kurdish Democratic Party's congress and poured slanders on the Ba'ath; and yet they have not been punished by us. Isn't it democracy?"

The radio went on to say that the Ba'ath Party had succeeded in making a revolution and bringing to Iraq "peace, calm and the respect of the individual."

b. 1000
14/7.

IV(A) - THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

NE Q 111

11.00 GMT 10.7.70 - 11.00 GMT 11.7.70

Gulf Affairs "Radio Iran Courier", commenting on the Shah's meeting with Sir Alec Douglas-Home, said that Britain did not intend to give up the occupied area in the Persian Gulf and that the Iranian regime was unlikely to oppose any British action*. The Damascus radio morning press review on 11th July reported 'Ath-Thawrah' comment that "the fundamental task of our people in the Gulf area must be the unification into one front of all forces whose interests are in conflict with US, British and Iranian interests. Thus this front would be able and ready to receive material and moral backing from Arab progressive forces and all revolutionary and free forces in the world." Baghdad radio, referring to the Iranian Foreign Minister's talks in Kuwait, reported comment from an Iraqi "Foreign Ministry source" that the Iraqi Government did not recognise any statement or agreement about Iraqi waters or the continental shelf by any neighbouring country when this was contrary to Iraq's rights in the aforementioned areas.*

Cairo on UK Policy A Cairo home service commentary at 17.30 GMT on 10th July said that it appeared that the British Conservative Party policy had not changed since the era of Anthony Eden; the dream of the empire on which the sun never set was still being entertained by the Conservatives led by Edward Heath who could now fully co-ordinate their plans with the USA*. A second commentary in the same programme said that the British attitude had now changed into an active, positive one favouring Israel*.

The Suez Canal Line In his Friday 'Al-Ahram' article broadcast by Cairo radio, Hasanayn Haykal said that the first target hit by the Egyptian air defence under a new plan on the Canal Line was an "Israeli electronic reconnaissance aircraft" manned by 12 officer experts. Haykal said that despite this success the "dawn was still distant and the night still long, black and desolate"*. Israel radio, broadcasting on 10th June in English and Hebrew, quoted a statement by Mordekhai Hod, Commander of the Israeli Air Force, that it was no longer possible to distinguish between Egyptians and Russians in the military line-up on the Suez Canal but that Israel would find the answer at the right time to the new development and this would contain an element of surprise. The Egyptian missile network, he said, still did not deny Israel freedom of action over the Canal.

Iraqi National Front Baghdad radio broadcast a commentary on 9th July and an 'Ath-Thawrah' article on 10th July on the importance of an Iraqi National Front and the qualifications of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party to lead it. Both commentary and newspaper article were critical of Iraqi Communist Party policy*. "Radio Independent Spain", the radio of the Spanish Communist Party, on 10th July reported an article in the Spanish Communist newspaper 'Mundo Obrero' giving details of alleged murders, arrests and persecutions of communists in Iraq by the Ba'th Party Government. It reported an Iraqi Communist Party allegation that 900 communists had been arrested in some of the main towns.

Jordanian Agreement with Resistance Amman radio broadcast the statement issued by the Arab four-State committee on the agreement reached between the Jordanian Government and the Central Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.*

Damascus Military Exercise On 10th July Damascus radio said that popular forces and paramilitary youth elements had carried out a defensive exercise in the city of Damascus under supervision of the army commander, Hadithah Murad. After the exercise there had been a popular march through Damascus.

King Faysal's Return to Jiddah On 9th July Jiddah radio announced the return of HM King Faysal from Switzerland where he had had a medical examination.

Caglayangil's Visit to Iraq On 11th July Baghdad radio reported the arrival of Caglayangil, the Turkish Foreign Minister, the previous evening, on a three-day visit to Iraq at the invitation of the Iraqi Foreign Minister.

* For details see Appendices

P.6 P.M.M.
1917

TABLE 1. GROWTH AND SURVIVAL (A) VI

On the 20th of October, 1870, the Legislature of Oregon passed a bill to allow miners and
others to mine in the public lands of Oregon, and to regulate the same.

IV(B) - NON-ARAB AFRICA

11.00 GMT 10.7.70 - 11.00 GMT 11.7.70

The Question of British Arms for South Africa A Mogadishu radio commentary (10.7.70) alleged that one of the first steps taken by the Conservative Government had been to invite the South African Foreign Minister for talks and to promise that arms supplies would be resumed. The talk rejected the argument that such arms were needed for the defence of South Africa against external attack. It was "well known" that these arms would be used to massacre and wipe out the African people who were seeking their rights and land and their freedom. After that, the arms would be used by South Africa to invade independent African countries to the north, such as Zambia, Tanzania and the Congo.

Ghanaian Debt Appeal to Britain The Ghanaian 'Daily Graphic' was reported by Accra radio to have stated that the success or failure of the London conference on Ghana's debts "depends squarely on Britain". The paper said that, although Britain had balance of payments difficulties, "that does not mean she should close her eyes to the plight of other people". *

Ghanaian Cultural Agreement with USSR Accra radio reported the signing on 10th July of a cultural agreement with the USSR, the first such agreement with an East European country to be concluded by the present Ghanaian Government. The External Affairs Minister, Victor Owusu, said that the agreement marked the end of a long period of speculation and uncertainty about Ghana's relations with the Eastern bloc; it also reaffirmed Ghana's commitment to the policy of non-alignment. Owusu declared: "As a developing country, Ghana has the unalienable right to learn from any country whose knowledge and experience is beneficial to future progress, and the Soviet Union is one of those countries with which Ghana can develop mutually beneficial relations". *

* For details see Appendices

is a good idea to make sure that the *spike* you're using is sharp, otherwise it's hard to get a good grip on the wood.

to identify individual species belonging to the *Leptosphaerulina* genus. The genus *Leptosphaerulina* is characterized by the presence of a thick-walled, smooth-walled, and often dark-colored, spherical or ovoid, apothecial fruiting body.

Geographical and climatic factors

Washington's resumption of arms shipments to the Zionists and the hints regarding the expansion of direct intervention mean that this intervention is the next step Washington is preparing to implement in the hope that this will compel our people to submit. This is the same method Washington used in a number of other places in the world. We are confident that the fate which its interventions faced elsewhere will be the same for any new move against our homeland...

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10

NEQILL

The National Front in Iraq

(a) Baghdad home service in Arabic 19.00 GMT 9.7.70

Excerpts from commentary:

... Now that those who raise the slogan of a National Front propose equality among the parties of the Front, we should like to throw some light on the concept of this Front:

(1) None of the parties eligible to join the Front are new to the field of national action. All these parties have distinctive experience. If we consider the communists in particular, the originators of the idea of equality, we find that experience has shown they are not worthy of leadership. All their attitudes are contradictory and inconsistent. A clear example of this is the fact that they welcomed Abd al-Karim Qasims' regime although it was an autocratic and dictatorial regime hostile to the masses, including the communists themselves. They regarded it as a national progressive regime and considered it above all other contemporary nationalist regimes.

After the black October setback, the communist leaders adopted an attitude which even bourgeois political movements would not have dared adopt. The communists regarded the reactionary regime of the October setback as a progressive, nationalist, and socialist government. They supported what was then known as the 1964 socialist resolutions. They even announced their readiness to join the ranks of the suspect Socialist Union and to dissolve their organisations. The communists did this with the Qasim and the Arif regimes which adopted negative attitudes towards the causes of the Arab masses and adopted harmful attitudes on questions of Arab unity and the Palestine problem attitudes which were a deviation even from Marxist-Leninist principles.

The communists are today hostile to the Ba'th Party and are opposing it. They call the regime of the 17th July revolution the [word indistinct] present regime and launch an unjustifiable campaign of lies and distortions. The communists do so against the Ba'th authority despite the fact that this authority acted in an admirably democratic manner when it released all political prisoners and detainees, including the communists and reinstated all of them in their jobs.

What does all this mean? It means that the communist leaders have failed to make their political attitudes and behaviour consistent with their ideological concepts and principles. Consequently, they are incapable of effective leadership. This means that the communists have no right to lead the National Front because they lack the ability to lead.

(2) The so-called Nationalist Democratic group is an odd mixture of leading bourgeoisie. This kind of traditionalist politicians understand national action only in the light of their class interests... This group lost its raison d'etre long ago... A group of this kind must disappear from the field of struggle and has no right to speak about so-called equality.

P. 141

(3) Among those who speak about so-called equality are those who claim to be independent democrats. If these people claim to represent a political group, where is their independence and of what kind is it? How can equality with them be worked out?

(4) The fields of national struggle in revolutionary Iraq, time and again bear witness to the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party's ability to lead the masses and their struggle. The Party won the masses' confidence when it set off the 17th July revolution. It strengthened this confidence through its fusion with the masses, by identifying itself with their aspirations and through the victories it achieved for the masses...

Moreover, the Ba'th Party, which set off the revolution single-handed and took over power, raised the slogan of a national front. By so doing, it has set the greatest example in selflessness and concern for national unity. In view of the above, when the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party makes its claim as leader of the National Front, its claim is fully justified and legitimate. Moreover all national fronts in other parts of the world are led by the Party in power...

The Socialist Arab Ba'th Party continues to believe in the Front. It has not changed its views and conditions concerning this Front. These conditions are objective and legitimate. The Party believes that the formation of the Front depends on the attitude of the other parties. The alliance of our Party with the Kurdish Democratic Party is the basis of this front.

The Socialist Arab Ba'th Party holds these parties responsible to the masses for failing to form the Front by adhering to their present negative attitudes. The Party once again warns that indulgence in such negative attitudes and in [word indistinct] and falsifications will only prolong alienation between the nationalist parties and, consequently, will only benefit imperialism, reaction and Zionism.

For this reason a historic responsibility falls on the shoulders of these parties. They will not be relieved of this responsibility by the Arab masses who aspire to national unity as a prelude to achieving their main objectives of freedom, unity and socialism.

(b) Baghdad home service in Arabic 05.00 GMT 10.7.70

Excerpts from 'Ath-Thawrah' article:

Our Party has always shown a scientific approach in defining the meaning of the National Front. It stresses that the question of the Front is basically a strategic one, not a tactical question subject to wishes or to transitory or emerging interests...

The party that carried out the revolution is the one that must bear its responsibilities, the one that must look after it and safeguard it. The party that was not involved in the revolution is not linked to it... One may ask Karim Ahmad: If the situation were reversed and if the Iraqi Communist Party had started the revolution, would the opportunity be open for political equality among the national parties? Does the history of communist parties which have gained power in other countries in the world contain anything to indicate that these parties have abandoned their leading role? Of course not. Does the history of the Iraqi Communist Party itself have any reference, even slight, to its willingness to do this if it were the leading party in question? No, we have no such experience. The Iraqi Communist Party never took over power and never staged a revolution.

But at the same time there is one experience that may be small but very important. In 1959 the Communist Party was prominent and its influence was strong. At that time it was the first to destroy the foundations of the National Union Front and to hunt down the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party and persecute its members who were so important to the Front before 14th July 1958. They were not even allowed to breathe...

Creating loyalties inside the armed forces other than loyalty to the revolution must not be allowed. The armed forces are one of the important revolutionary institutions. Any affiliation by its members to a political party or organisation would be a danger to the unity of the armed forces as an effective instrument. The existence of numerous political groupings in the armed forces sows the seeds of destruction of the National Front and the revolution and allows adventurous and opportunist elements to flourish...

The revolution can never allow a repetition of Syria's experience before the 1958 union. Any front whose ebb and flow depends on the number of rifles each party possesses inside the armed forces would be only a temporary partnership until the differences were settled at the appropriate moment...

Neither must the Front become a facade for conspiracies. All secret weapons and training are contrary to the principles of the Front. They indicate that someone wants to use the Front to strengthen his own position by benefiting from the Front's openness. The call for a Front does not reflect a halt in the revolution's march; it shows a desire to bring in the national forces to take part in protecting and quickening the pace of the revolution and consolidating its achievements.

Arab Four-State Committee Statement on Jordanian-Resistance Agreement

Amman home service in Arabic 16.00 GMT 10.7.70

Text of statement:

The four-State committee, which was formed at the conference of the Arab Kings and Presidents in Tripoli, held meetings in Amman between 29th June and 10th July 1970. The committee was composed of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria's representative Qa'id Ahmad, the Libyan Arab Republic's representative Muhammad Najm, the UAR's representative Dr. Hasan Sabri al-Khuli, and the Sudanese Democratic Republic's representative Maj. Ma'mun Awad Abu Zayd.

The four-State committee studied the current situation with representatives of the Jordanian Government and the Central Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). It became clear to the committee after the contacts that everyone agreed that the co-operation of the Arab forces was the only way to victory for the Arab nation in its fateful battle and that this was the basic condition in Jordan where the people, the valiant Jordanian Armed Forces, and the Palestine revolution forces were unified in one solid rank and formed an effective force in the battle of the Arab nation against Zionism, imperialism and colonialism. Consolidating the Palestine revolution, supporting it and providing it with all material and moral means will enable it to escalate its struggle and achieve its sacred and basic goal of full liberation. Thanks to this revolution, the personality of the Palestinian people has emerged. Their struggle has proved that armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine.

As a result of the talks conducted by the committee with the Jordanian Government authorities and representatives of the Central Committee of the PLO, the following points were agreed upon:

- (1) The PLO Central Committee will be the body controlling and responsible for all fida'i organisations and their activities. The Government will contact this committee on all matters concerning fida'i action, activities, rights and responsibilities.
- (2) The Central Committee commitments will be binding on all fida'i organisations, and the Government commitments to the Central Committee will apply to all organisations.
- (3) Freedom and protection for fida'i action and the safety of the fida'i and their right to popular and national mobilisation is guaranteed by the Government without infringement on State sovereignty.

(4) The valiant Jordanian Armed Forces, which are determinedly and firmly facing the enemy and are on the road of sacrifices, honour, and redemption of the usurped homeland, are the basic pillar of all the Arab military forces and are joined with the Resistance forces in the common struggle of the battle of steadfastness and liberation.

(5) The Palestine Resistance is a national struggle force and is one of the basic requirements in our battle against aggression and for liberation; thus, it must be supported and stepped up.

Accordingly, the Government will take the following measures:

(1) Cancel all arrangements and extraordinary measures taken during the crisis.

(2) Support the armed struggle in the battle for liberation, the battle to wrest the right from the usurping enemy and do everything necessary to strengthen co-operation between the Jordanian Armed Forces and the armed struggle of the Palestine revolution forces, in word and deed, on the road to liberation.

(3) Mobilise the information media and moral support to serve the revolution's liberation and to serve the people and the armed forces.

(4) Ensure that no organisation, machinery or element will act against the Palestine revolution and national unity. The Central Committee will undertake to abide by the following principles and organisational measures which have already been issued:

(a) To prevent military demonstrations and the presence of armed fida'iyyin in public places such as cafes, hotels, cinemas, restaurants, parks, Government offices and courtrooms, with the exception of special guards for offices and leaders.

(b) All resistance vehicles must have special registration numbers and must stop at barricades whenever asked to do so. In the event of any disagreement at the barricade, the armed struggle military police officer in co-operation with the employee in charge of the barricade will deal with the matter.

(c) Since army personnel, security forces, and the fida'iyyin are the sons of this one people and brothers in arms, all should preserve each other's dignity and establish a spirit of amity among themselves.

(d) Firing in the air and training with live ammunition within cities and inhabited areas is strictly prohibited.

(e) It is not permissible to set up military bases for fida'iyyin organisations in towns. Their popular resistance forces are excepted. The stockpiling of explosives, ammunition and heavy arms in inhabited areas is prohibited. The sites of the bases will be defined by a joint committee of the Army Chief of Staff and the Military Command of the Armed Struggle.

(f) All fida'iyyin must respect the regulations in force. Every member of the fida'iyyin who commits a crime or a civil offence against laws and regulations in force in the Kingdom will be handed over to the appropriate Jordanian authorities.

(g) No member of the army will be accepted as a member of the fida'iyyin.

It was also agreed to form a joint committee to deal with contraventions and handle whatever matters might arise within the framework of internal unity and the supreme national interest. The joint investigation committee would continue its work to define responsibilities in the recent regrettable incidents.

This statement was signed on behalf of the Jordanian Government by the premier Abd al-Mun'im ar-Rifa'i, and on behalf of the Central Committee by Yasir Arafat, Chairman of the Central Committee and the Executive Committee of the PLO. It was also signed by the members of the Arab four-State committee.

I. G. MACPHERSON

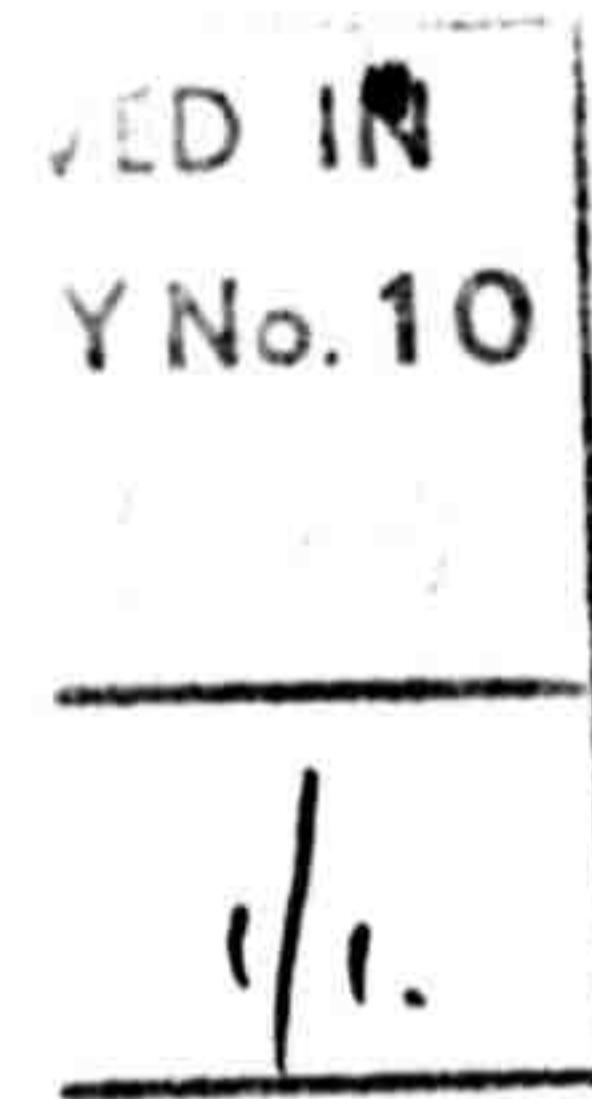
33 CAVENDISH SQUARE,

LONDON, W. 1.

01-629 9405.

8419/B

20th July, 1970.



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Dear Colin,

36

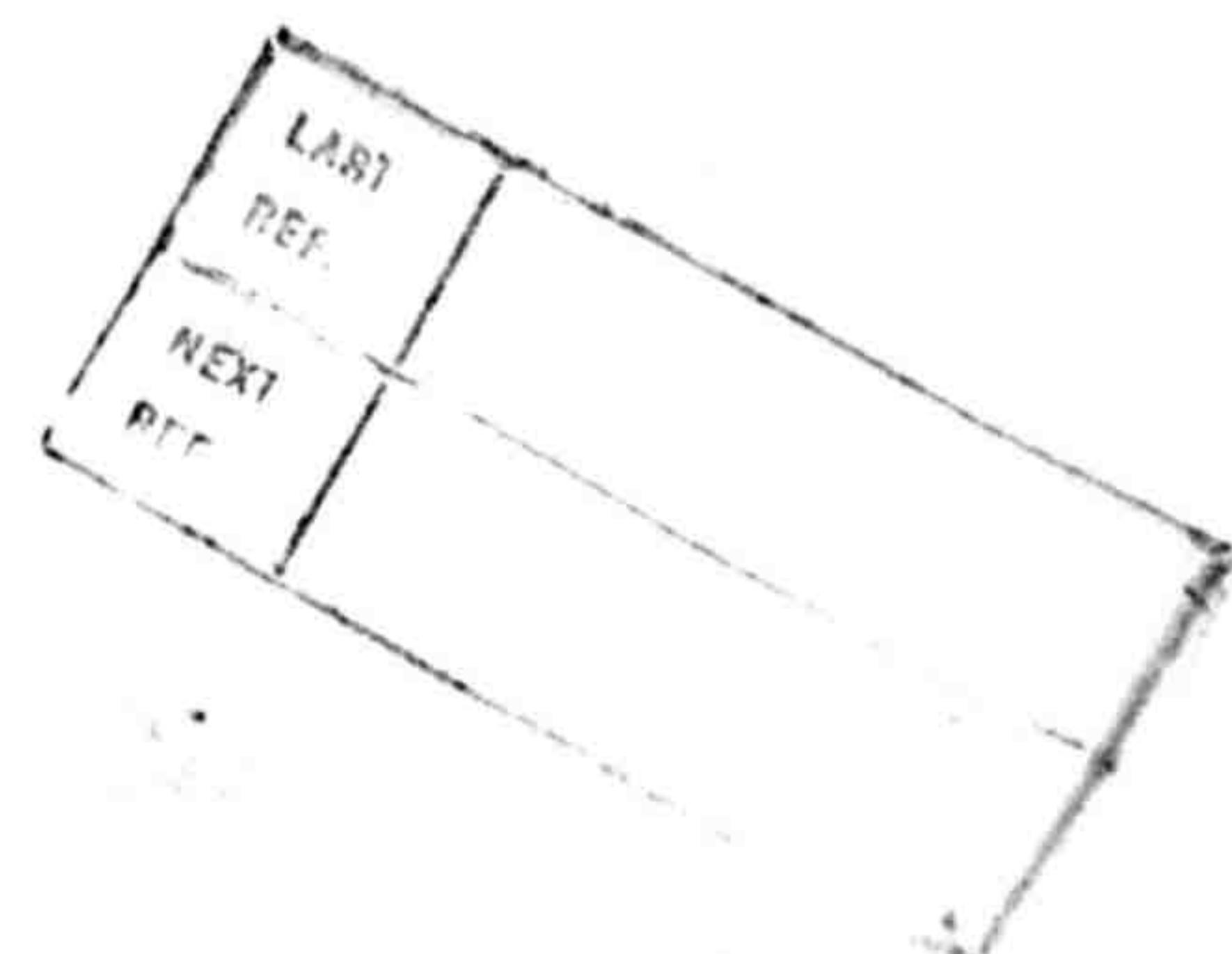
Thank you very much for your letter of the 2nd July and enclosure which I am now returning. - Copy destroyed - I am sorry to have kept it so long but the writer of our economic reviews was on holiday and I thought it would be a good thing for him to see it when he came back.

Yours sincerely,

I. G. Macpherson.

P. M. M.
31/7

C.T. Brant, Esq.,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
Room 64, Ground Floor,
Oil Department,
Great George St.,
LONDON, S.W.1.



RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10
- 0 AUG 1970

UAR (a: 11.30 and 17.30 GMT commentaries replaced by text of Nasir's message to Bakr. (see ME/3447/A/10 and above.)

'Voice of the Arabs' (Note: 10.30, 13.15 ("Palestine Service") and 17.00 GMT commentaries replaced by text of Nasir's message to Bakr: see ME/3447/A/10 and above.) 14.15 GMT ("People in Sinai"): Poem on the virtues of struggle. 15.20 GMT ("Conversation with a Listener"): Arab courage in the occupied territories. 16.00 GMT ("Arabian Peninsula"): Muhammad Uruq on imperialist effort to isolate the Gulf (see above).

31

P.D.
FMW

Reports in Brief

Retirement of Jordanian Intelligence chief It has been decided to retire the general Intelligence chief Brig. Mudar Badran and to appoint Col. Nadhir Amr in his place, according to well-informed sources in Amman on 3rd August. Badran arrived in Amman on 2nd August from London, where he had three weeks medical treatment. (Syrian Arab News Agency in Arabic 08.30 GMT 3.8.70)

Soviet delegation in Iraq The Soviet writers' delegation which arrived in Baghdad on 29th July has left for Basrah for a one-day tour of the province. (Baghdad in Arabic 21.00 GMT 2.8.70)

Iraqi revolution court sentences The Revolution Court has sentenced to death in absentia the absconding criminals Umar al-Haj (?Bas), Mulla Rahim Kuti, Hamid Ubudi al-Fadli, Afar ash-Shaykh Muhammad and Abd al-Husayn Mahmud al-Dawsi. The court also sentenced a number of other criminals to 10 to 15 years hard labour. (Baghdad in Arabic 11.00 GMT 3.8.70)

Numayri's visit to N Korea On 2nd August President Numayri received the Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Korea to Sudan. Their discussion dealt with some aspects of the president's expected visit to the Democratic Republic of Korea. (Omdurman in Arabic 11.30 GMT 2.8.70)

Sentence on Ahmad Muhammad Uthman Ahmad Muhammad Uthman, who was accused of trying to murder President Numayri during his last visit to the White Nile has been sentenced to life imprisonment. The President reduced the sentence to 12 years. (Omdurman in English 16.30 GMT 3.8.70)

Wage equalisation in Sudan President Numayri has received a telegram from southerners working in Government departments and companies in Khartoum welcoming the decision to equalise the wages of southern and northern workers. (Omdurman in English 16.30 GMT 3.8.70)

Trial of Sudanese former Minister The People's Court sat under the presidency of Col. Ahmad Muhammad al-Hasan on 1st August to try Abd al-Majid Muhammad Abu Hasabu, former Minister of Information and Social Affairs. The lawyer Fawzi at-Tawn, submitted the prosecution's first statement. (Omdurman in Arabic 11.30 GMT 1.8.70)

Abortive coup in Libya (Text) The Cairo weekly 'Rose al-Yusuf', in a special feature, reveals many secrets of the abortive attempt to overthrow the Libyan revolutionary regime. This is the conspiracy perpetrated by a number of defunct regime members, living abroad, in collaboration with a number of former police officers. These secrets may be summed up as follows: (1) Five thousand mercenaries were alerted on the border; (2) American Phantom aircraft were ready to stop any Arab intervention; (3) the plan of the conspiracy involved landings by American forces. (Cairo in Arabic 15.00 GMT 3.8.70)

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The two pilots were captured by our forces (Cairo in Arabic 12.30 GMT 3.8.70). Our forces have captured eight pilots of the US-made Phantoms so far who managed to bale out, but other pilots were killed in their aircraft. These eight pilots were all captured in the past month. The two pilots captured when their Phantom was shot down on the afternoon of 3rd August are Flight Lt. Yigal and Air Lt. Moshe Goldwasser (Cairo in Arabic 14.00 GMT 3.8.70).

Suez Canal ground firing (Abstract of Israeli report) An Israeli soldier was wounded on the evening of 3rd August in exchanges of fire with the Egyptians in the Suez Canal sector. (Israel in Hebrew 21.00 GMT 3.8.70)

Gaza grenade incidents A Gaza Strip resident was injured at about 07.20 on 3rd August when a grenade was thrown at an Israeli patrol in the Faris Market. None of the members of the patrol were injured (Israel in Hebrew 09.00 GMT 3.8.70). Two grenades were thrown in Gaza on 3rd August and two local children were wounded: The first incident took place at about 10.20 when a grenade was thrown at a military vehicle near Madina Square and exploded about 100 m. away; none of the passengers was hurt. Ten minutes later a grenade was thrown at a civilian administration vehicle in Police Square; the grenade hit a car, slid off and burst several hundred metres behind it (Israel in Hebrew 11.00 GMT 3.8.70).

Gaza examinations Gaza notables have gone to Egypt to lobby for the immediate holding of matriculation examinations in the Strip. Seven thousand young candidates have been waiting three months for the Egyptians to make up their minds, and if the delay continues they will have to miss the coming academic year, in which many of them intended to study in Egypt. (Israel in English 05.00 GMT 4.8.70)

Firing from Lebanon A number of mortar bombs were fired during the night of 3rd-4th August from Lebanese territory at the Misgav Am area, Upper Galilee. There were no casualties. The fire was returned. (Israel in Hebrew 05.00 GMT 4.8.70)

Asifah operations (Abstract of Palestine Armed Struggle Command statements) On 1st August an Asifah group inflicted damage and casualties on a patrol near Umm as-Sisan and another group destroyed three vehicles and inflicted casualties between Abu adh-Dhahab and Sirman. In these operations and a subsequent fierce battle, one fighter was wounded. Other forces inflicted damage and casualties near Maghtas. On 2nd August damage and casualties were inflicted on a camp south of Juwaydah, a vehicle was destroyed near Zawlah al-Hamra and, at 22.00, damage and casualties inflicted near Umm Sidrah. In these operations one fighter was wounded. Between 21st and 31st July, 14 sniping operations were carried out in the Jordan valley. A patrol was repulsed trying to cross the Jordan near Umm Sidrah (Damascus in Arabic 04.15 GMT 3.8.70). On 3rd August damage and casualties were inflicted in Manarah and a tracked vehicle destroyed on the Manarah-Yiftah road. A half-track was destroyed by the Palestine Popular Struggle Front and Asifah near Dayr Hajalah. Enemy losses in the subsequent battle were heavy. Two fighters were wounded (Damascus in Arabic 20.15 GMT 3.8.70).

Asifah-Sa'iqah joint operation On 3rd August a joint Asifah-Sa'iqah force destroyed an armoured car and killed its eight occupants in the Ramthah area. (Damascus in Arabic 04.15 GMT 4.8.70)

Arab Radio Comment 3.8.70

LIBYA 13.00 GMT: Qadhafi's efforts to strengthen Arab unity.

SYRIA 11.15 GMT (repeated 18.15 GMT): The need for Arabs to continue preparing for the liberation battle.

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FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

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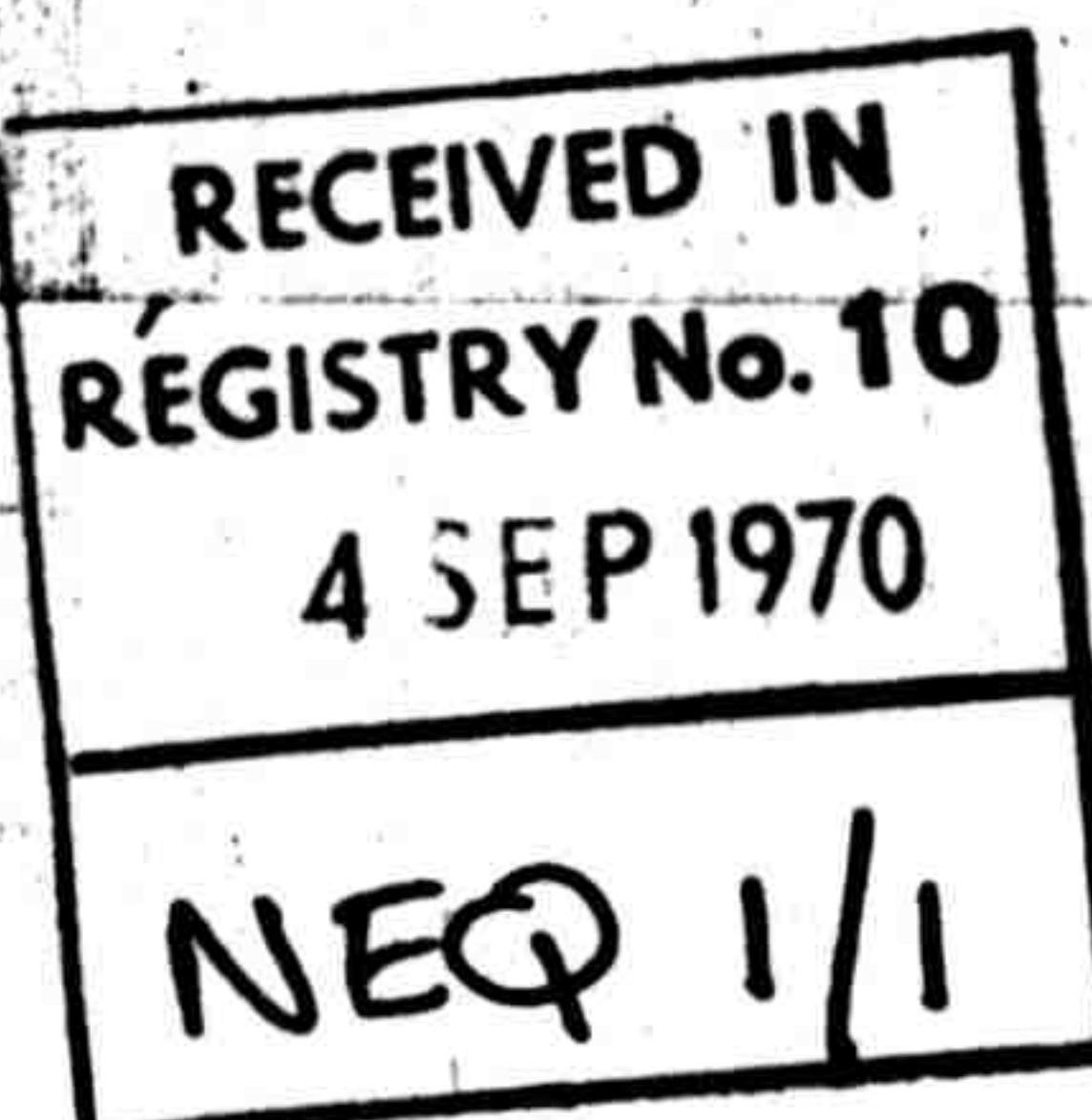
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The Arab World

- 5 -

August 25th, 1970

Today's Main News and Trends, Cont'd.



LARGE-SCALE CAMPAIGN OF ARRESTS IN IRAQ REPORTED Iraq

A large-scale campaign of arrests is reportedly being carried out in Iraq against national revolutionary forces including military officers and civilians. This was the gist of the front-page lead story in Beirut's daily AL RAYAH, which speaks for the ruling Arab Baath Party in Damascus. The daily said today that at least 122 Iraqis representing some seven progressive parties and organizations are currently being detained and tortured in Iraqi prisons.

The paper claimed that a "Special Apparatus", headed by Vice Chairman of the Revolution Command Council, Sidam Hussein Takriti, is allegedly entrusted with the task of "liquidating the strugglers and suppressing freedoms." The activities of this apparatus, according to the paper, have been overshadowed by the authorities' claims about spy networks, biddings and out-biddings, and constant talk about the creation of a national front.

Start of Campaign. The paper reported that ever since the Iraqi regime announced its rejection of the Rogers' Plan for peace in the Middle East, and its opposition to the ceasefire, "which the regime has actually observed since the June, 1967, aggression," the Iraqi rulers have been launching a large-scale campaign "of terror and liquidation" among the ranks of progressive parties and organizations in the country. Thousands of persons have already been arrested, according to the paper, and are now being tortured "in the dungeons of the Special Apparatus which has the most up-to-date torturing techniques that are applied on the citizens, whose only guilt is that they refused to give a certificate of good-conduct to the agents of British petroleum companies."

The paper said that it has been able to obtain the names of 122 persons who were arrested by the Iraqi authorities during the second half of last month. Most of them belong to the Arab Baath Socialist Party (presumably the faction which is loyal to the ruling Baath in Syria), the Iraqi Communist Party (Central Committee) and the Iraqi Communist Party (Central Leadership), the Nationalist Socialist Congress, the Arab Socialist Movement, the Independent Democrats, and the National Democratic Party. The paper also gave the names of the detainees.

KUWAIT INSISTS ON U.K. WITHDRAWAL FROM THE GULF

Gulf

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British Embassy,
BEIRUT

IRAQ UNDER GENERAL BAKER

THE POLITICAL MOBILISATION OF RURAL LABOUR

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R. L. Morris

(R. L. Morris)

First Secretary (Labour)

24 August, 1970

Chancery,

British Embassy,

BAGHDAD.

Central for Information No:

Overseas Labour Advisor, P.C.O.
Overseas Section, D.E.P.
British Embassy, Kuwait.

EXTRAG

Exhibit 5/2

ESTATE PLANNING

APPENDIX

GENERAL INDEX

Presented by Web2Learn.com on 18 June 2019

(Information incomplete)

THE BOSTONIAN

1860-1861. The first year of the Civil War.

PARAPHRASES

ANALYSIS OF PEASANT UNIONS IN IRAQ

1. Iraqi nationalists have always paid tribute to the short-lived tribal uprising of 1920 on the doubtful theory that it forced the mandatory Power to create Iraqi state institutions. Nationalist propaganda was certainly a factor in the revolt, but other causes were local Sheikhly ambitions and feuds, dislike of an effective central administration, and the opportunities for loot afforded by the withdrawal of British troops. In current Baathist mythology the revolt has special significance for the peasant labour movement. The uprising, which has assumed heroic proportions, is to be considered as a popular revolution against imperialist forces carried out by ill-equipped peasant masses, mainly defeated because of the absence of a competent revolutionary leadership. This essential factor has now been supplied by the Baath party.

2. The true history of the Iraqi peasant unions begins with the revolution of July 1958, which destroyed the Hashimite monarchy and the traditional ruling élite. One of the first acts of the Kassam régime (August) was to pass an agrarian reform law affecting about half the cultivable land. Politically the law achieved the object of destroying the power of the rural sheikhs, the mainstay of the monarchy, even though its provisions were not fully carried out. Considerable areas of land subject to seizure were not actually taken, and much confiscated land was not redistributed but continued by arrangement under the control of the former owners or their agents. Even so the economic effects were disastrous. Traditional estate management broke down, investment by owners was discouraged, the drift of rural workers and their families to the towns assumed alarming proportions, and total agricultural production fell dramatically, forcing the country to import foodstuffs.

3. The officers who plotted the overthrow of the monarchy had envisaged not the abolition, but the reform of parliamentary democracy under a republic. However, the chronic instability of the revolutionary régime made Kassam turn to an alternative means of support - organised labour. Urban trade unions were quickly set up throughout the country and by mid-1961 there were 52 central unions grouped into a General Federation of Trade Unions (G.F.T.U.). For rural areas a General Federation of Peasant Unions (G.F.P.U.) was formed, which set up over 700 local unions by the same date. The régime was assisted in this operation by the Baathists and Communists, both of whom saw an opportunity to create a civilian power base. When Kassam clamped down on the Baath party after the assassination attempt in late 1959, urban and rural unions fell under communist control. Later Kassam found it necessary to move against the communists also and lost his enthusiasm for popular organisations. The

/union

union leaderships were gradually replaced by pro-government personnel, while union activities were increasingly controlled by Government departments and security authorities. When Kassem was killed and the Baath party came to power in 1963 the leaderships were again replaced, but at this time the party relied mainly for support on its notorious armed National Guard, whose excesses cost the party much middle-class support.

4. When General Abdul Salam Aref forcibly ejected the Baathists from office in late 1963 the offices of the labour federations were taken by storm and all unions were dissolved. The following year, however, Aref agreed to prepare for political unity with Egypt by setting up ideological and popular institutions on the Egyptian model. An Iraqi Arab Socialist Union (A.A.U.) was accordingly formed, and the urban trade unions were allowed to revive gradually under government supervision. This policy changed, however, when it became apparent that the loyalty of Nasserist groups could not be relied upon, and strict surveillance of unions was imposed after the abortive Abdul Razak coup in 1965. When General Abdul Rahman Aref assumed the presidency on the death of his brother, he also found it impossible to form any cohesive political front and began, like Kassem, to turn to the possibility of a pro-Soviet labour movement. He moved cautiously because of the danger of Baathist and communist infiltration. Arrangements were put in hand to rig the elections in the urban trade unions, and a second Conference of Peasant Unions was organised. The Arab-Israeli war of June 1967, however, dealt the regime a fatal blow and started off a chain of events which brought the Baathists to full power in Iraq for the first time by August 1968.

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line, declined,
consequently.*

B. BAATHIST MOBILISATION OF URBAN AND RURAL LABOUR

5. The mobilisation of trade unions for political purposes has a long history, and the classic illustration is the Russian revolution of 1917. Since then all communist parties have been trained to build up a power base in organised labour, in preparation for social revolution. Arab nationalism in its early stages was a movement of the intelligentsia and well-to-do classes, and the nationalist political groups which came to power on independence aimed at popular support, but not social upheaval. As a result newly independent Arab states, whilst propagating paternalist labour legislation, discouraged or controlled trade unions, seeing them mainly as a vehicle for communist subversion. The only nationalist grouping to penetrate the labour field in depth was the Moslem Brotherhood which, excluded from effective parliamentary action in Egypt, made real efforts to organise professional groups, trade unions and the peasantry. Nasser's bitter clash with the Brotherhood, in which he was saved by his own counter-organisation in the unions, drove home the political importance of economic groupings in Arab society. Since then influence over organised labour has been a major feature of Egypt's internal and pan-Arab policies.

6. Although the Baath party was founded in Syria in 1940, it remained an unimportant grouping there until political instability set in after the Arab-Jewish war of 1948. Although the party's main efforts to gain influence were directed towards the military and political fields, it had a programme of social reform and began to penetrate the urban labour field, coming into contact or conflict with other radical parties. It took the leadership of the Syrian trade unions in 1957, but lost it during the union with Egypt (1958-61) when Nasser clamped down on all the party's sources of power. After the separation it was able to resume its activities, and the instability of the Syrian regime from 1961-5, when the Baathist coup took place, was largely due to politically-inspired industrial unrest.

7. In its early days the Baath party envisaged parliamentary democracy as the best political institution, with non-political trade unions on the western European model to protect the economic interests of the workers. This was clearly set out in the "constitution" of the party before it achieved power in Syria. "There will be complete freedom of expression and the people will choose their representatives in honest elections." "Free syndicates will be organised for workers and peasants. These syndicates will be encouraged to become beneficial instruments for defending their rights, raising their standard of living, looking after their needs, increasing their opportunities, creating a spirit of mutual responsibility and representing them in the high labour tribunal." However, when

/the Baath

the Baath party was firmly established in Syria, it resolved to do away with the system of parliamentary elections, which as elsewhere had become identified with the old régime. Accordingly, a national assembly was set up, the members of which were drawn from the party, from trade and peasant unions, and from other popular organisations such as students and women. This system has survived in Syria after the neo-Baathist coup of February 1966, when the main Baathist group of Aflaq, Bitar and Hafez was forcibly ejected from office by the extremist wing of the party.

8. It is clear that the same type of political institution is in mind for Iraq. "We are working towards democracy within the framework of popular organisations such as trade unions, peasant unions and professional associations, and from these organisations a national council will be formed", said Abdul Karim al-Shukhly, the Foreign Minister, in September 1968. When the text of the new Iraqi constitution was published in July 1970 it provided for a National (Legislative) Assembly in the following terms: "The National Assembly will consist of representatives of the people from the various political, economic and social groups. Its formation, method of membership, procedures and powers shall be defined in a special law". Going on Syrian experience it is probable that the Executive Committees of the General Federation of Trade Unions and of the General Federation of Peasant Unions will be ex-officio members of the National Assembly.

9. The régime has made it clear that the Baath party has no intention of losing control of the projected National Assembly, or of its constituent popular organisations. In May 1970 the draft national charter published by the leadership stipulated that political groups wishing to join the Baath in a national front and to take part in the Council must recognise the leadership role of the Baath party "at the level of trade unions, popular councils and the rest of the representative institutions".

C. ORGANISATION OF THE G.P.P.U.

10. There is no doubt that the Baath party of Iraq, like the neo-Baathist offshoot in Syria, regards the mobilisation of the peasantry as important for both internal and external political reasons. Considerable effort and ingenuity has accordingly been put into the reorganisation and expansion of the peasant union system inherited from the Kassem and Aref régimes, with the result that the Iraqi organisation is already comparable with that developed during the past four years in Syria. The first step after attaining power in mid-1968 was to make the General Federation itself an effective instrument of government policy, for the new organisation had to be built up rapidly from the top downwards. To this end a 'preparatory committee' was chosen as early as August 1968 to replace the dissolved executive committee of Aref times. This new committee arranged the 3rd. Conference of the General Federation in Baghdad in May 1969, at which time it was transformed into an 'elected' Central Council.

11. The General Federation is apparently to have an annual Conference, attended by the leaders of the régime and given maximum publicity (the 4th. Conference being held in July 1970). This enables the leadership to expound not only its agrarian policy, but also other internal and external problems, and emphasises the theory that the party emanates from the working-class masses. For co-ordination of action at the national level between the popular organisations, the régime has set up a co-ordinating committee comprising the General Federation of Peasant Unions; the General Federation of Trade Unions; the National Union of Students; and the General Federation of Women. This meets under the chairmanship of members of the party leadership. For publicity the party publishes a special newspaper - the Voice of the Peasant (Sawt al-Fallah) - and arrangements are made by local unions to have the important articles read aloud to illiterate members.

12. For administrative (as opposed to political) functions a policy of decentralisation is being followed. In every Governorate a federation of peasant unions has been established, and this governorate federation has executive committees to deal with such matters as collective farms, water pumps, irrigation and drains, co-ordination between the unions and the local co-operative societies, educational and cultural activities and voluntary work campaigns. The Governorate federation has branches in the administrative sub-districts and through them controls the actual peasant unions in the villages.

13. When the Baathists took office they were faced with problems of local organisation. Where peasant unions already existed they had, of course, to be brought immediately under party control. Apart from this, the network of unions was far from complete. Immediately after the May 1969 Conference the Central Council of the General Federation launched a drive to fill in the gaps. Members of the Council toured the country, examining and choosing premises and setting up local committees. The local government authorities were obviously required to co-operate and the number of unions licensed grew rapidly. Such information as is available on the present state of peasant unionisation in Iraq is given in Appendix 5.

D. G.F.P.U. RELATIONS WITH THE REGIME & GOVERNMENT

14. The Baathists see their régime as based upon an alliance between the 'revolutionary' soldiers, the 'revolutionary' intellectuals, the workers, the peasants, the students and the women. The labour and popular organisations of the régime accordingly group the various civilian categories and each organised group is closely associated with the party and integrated into the machinery of government. Of these groups the workers and peasants are the most important and difficult to organise, because of the numbers of persons involved and because the whole economy of the country depends upon them. In Iraq Kassem left a vacuum in the countryside politically and economically, which the Aref brothers were unable to fill. The Baathist objective is not only to improve agricultural production and conditions, but also to create a new class of rural worker, which can be expected, as it develops, to be loyal to the party which created it.

15. The importance attached by the party to the peasant organisation, and the desire to emphasise the close connection between it and the top party leadership, is shown by the important policy pronouncements made at the 1969 and 1970 G.F.P.U. Conferences by President Bakr and by Saddam Hussein Takriti, the vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Council. A further member of the Council, Issat ad-Douri, appears to have been given special responsibility in this field of peasant mobilisation. He normally takes the chair at meetings of the Central Committee of the General Federation, and attends rallies and conferences arranged by the Governorate federations. He has also led important G.F.P.U. delegations abroad.

16. The fiction of an organisation independent of party control is, nevertheless, maintained. The members of the party leadership made a point of leaving the annual conference before the elections for the Central Council of the General Federation took place. Similarly the routine of electoral procedure is followed at all levels, although the 'preparatory committees' installed by the General Federation at Governorate and local levels appear in all cases to have been later returned uncontested. It is quite clear that, in fact, at every level the organisation is closely controlled by the party.

17. The executive functions given to the organisation make smooth relations with the appropriate government departments important. Meetings of the Central Council of the General Federation, under the chairmanship of Issat ad-Douri, are accordingly attended by Directors-General of the various government departments concerned with agrarian reform and agricultural production, and their local officials attend meetings of the federations in the governorates. The attendance of a member of the Revolutionary Council at such meetings ensures that effective decisions on administrative problems arising can be given on the spot.

E. G.P.P.U. & INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS

18. "The slogan of the peasants today is: the sickle in one hand, the rifle in the other, for the protection of the revolution and its commanding party, under the leadership of President Bakr". The primary objective of the movement is thus made perfectly clear, and explains the frantic haste with which the network of unions was expanded and reorganised in 1968-69. 'Protection of the Revolution' involves, for the member of a peasant union, frequent attendance at demonstrations and rallies in the provincial towns, to voice his support for the policies of the régime and to denounce its enemies. These enemies may be external, such as Iran plotting on the Eastern frontiers or in the gulf; or internal, such as spies and counter-revolutionaries liquidated by the watchful party**, or the 'renegade separatist movement of Barazani, with its Zionist and imperialist links'***.

19. The duties and significance of the movement go beyond vocal support, for the party and its leaders have by now much hard-earned revolutionary expertise. The Baathist régime in Syria was able to consolidate its position there in 1964 after the military coup largely because it had means of civilian control in a trade union movement under party command. One reason why that same party, two years later, was unable to react to a sudden military coup by its extremist neo-Baathist wing was because that wing had previously taken the precaution of dominating the Baathist labour movement. In Iraq itself Generals Kasseb and Aref tried and failed to create supporting labour organisations. They were toppled purely by military action and no civilian organisation offered resistance. The Baathists know well that they have many enemies who would like to eject them as in 1963, and that the more organised civilian support they have, the safer they will be.

20. However, the party draws its leadership from what might be termed the military bourgeoisie and the urban professional classes. A class war, of the classic communist pattern, is no part of their philosophy, and there are obviously dangers in rapidly mobilising a mass movement of illiterate peasants. The tone of the Conference in July 1970 was quite different from that of May 1969. At the later Conference Saddam Hussein Takriti, the Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Council, whose speech was broadcast live, set about removing some misconceptions among his audience. "It is wrong to think that every well-dressed person or a person who owns a little property is a reactionary who should be killed... We are not against making a profit or

/against

* Resolutions of 3rd. Conference, May 1969.

** Resolution of 3rd. Conference of G.P.P.U. May 1969
Resolution of GPPU Central Council June 1969
Resolution of Rally in Nasariya, January 1970

*** Resolution of 3rd. Conference. This was, of course, before the agreement to end the Kurdish revolt was made between the régime and the Kurds under Barazani.

against private property, but against the dishonest use of such property to enslave others... It is true that the revolution is for the workers and peasants, but this does not mean that they alone are wronged. The revolution does not aim to serve only class interests... We must know the limits of our freedom and how to behave when we call on the district officer or the agrarian reform officer. We should not think of ourselves as above the law... At times wrong concepts develop in our ranks. We think that revolution means chaos and violating the rules of society... We must not rush matters, so as to push those who may be friends and the masses of the revolution into the ranks of the enemies. The peasant has a set of standards on which you should not trespass in your peasant unionist work. Do not promise the peasant more than the revolution can offer; do not attempt to force ideas down the peasant's throat..."

21. The régime naturally looks to its peasant labour movement to support its policies of agrarian reform and of increased agricultural production. The Revolutionary Council, in accordance with decisions previously taken at the 7th Regional (Iraqi) Congress of the Baath Party, announced in May 1969 its decisions to abolish compensation for confiscated land (said to amount to £50 million), and also the right of the landlord to choose the lands for his retention. The following day the 3rd. Conference of the G.P.P.U. opened and passed resolutions unanimously approving these actions of the Council. Commenting on these and other resolutions of the Conference, the Minister of Agrarian Reform said that actually all the resolutions passed "fully harmonised with plans already worked out by the Ministry" and that the Ministry "would consider the resolutions of the Conference as its own and would leave nothing undone to have them implemented". In the sphere of agricultural production the Federation has been active in holding rallies urging the peasants to step up production on their contribution to the battle against Zionism and imperialism; in urging peasants to be more willing to move off their traditional plots; and in supporting the government's attempts to encourage peasant families to move away from the slums of Baghdad to return to their former areas in the southern provinces.

2. G.P.P.U. & INTERNAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

22. The Peasant Unions have been given important functions in the implementation of government economic policy. Under the Agrarian Law of 1970, for instance, agricultural planning is to be in the hands of a new Higher Agricultural Council, headed by President Bakr and including the Ministers of Agrarian Reform and of Agriculture, and the Chairman of the General Federation. At lower administrative levels the organisation has responsibilities affecting all three types of Iraqi agriculture, viz: private farming, co-operative societies and collective farming.

23. Private ownership of land will be allowed under the new Agrarian Law within the limit of 40-2000 dunums, depending on the location, fertility and availability of water. In 1969 delegates from the G.P.P.U. were visiting the Governorates with full powers to delimit the areas of agrarian units, and it is presumed that these responsibilities will continue.

24. The peasant unions have been given the task of supervising, stimulating and organising the agricultural co-operative societies. To the unions has been transferred the responsibility for the maintenance and operation of the state-owned water pumps. In addition, the unions are to provide the co-operative societies with seeds, fertilisers, loans and agricultural machinery, and to market their produce. The Federation has also decided to provide an agricultural instructor for each three co-operative societies; to encourage the breeding of cattle, poultry and fish; to connect the villages with the main routes; and to establish medical clinics, veterinary units and schools in the rural areas.

25. The main effort, however, is to be on creating a system of collective farms. The Chairman of each Governorate Federation is to open a register of collective farms in his area, showing the acreage of the land, the number of peasants, the availability of water, the crops raised and the state of transportation. Some extensive model projects are already in hand. In the Kurdish areas a collective farm of 90,000 dunums has been started as a joint project by the Armed Forces, students, the peasant unions and the local peasants. In the Baghdad area, the Federation has started the construction of a collective farm under contract to the Ministry of Agriculture. In Basra a collective farm of 27,000 dunums is to be extended and modernised. Each farmer working on this collective farm will be supplied with a house with water and electricity. In addition, money has been allocated to build a modern village, with medical, educational and social facilities.

6. G.F.P.U. : RELATIONS WITH ARAB COUNTRIES

26. Trade union activity is essential to any pan-arab political grouping seeking mass support and endeavouring to gain power in arab countries on a programme of arab nationalism combined with radical social reform. Therefore, in any arab country where a Baath party manages to exist, legally or illegally, it is sure to infiltrate into the urban unions and to engage in struggle with its competitors. At the pan-arab level the Iraqi Federation of Trade Unions is affiliated to the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (I.C.A.T.U.), but the long-term Baathist objective is to build up a sphere of influence in that organisation and eventually to erode the Egyptian leadership.

27. The political mobilisation of rural labour is a Baathist innovation in the arab world, and the extent to which peasant unions spread could prove to be one measurement of any increase in Baathist influence. The policy of the régime is accordingly based on:-

- (a) annual conferences of the Iraqi General Federation of Peasant Unions, to which delegations from other arab countries can be invited;
- (b) the encouragement of peasant unions in all arab countries, and the eventual organisation of a pan-arab Federation of Peasant Unions.

The neo-Baathist régime in Syria has exactly the same policy.

28. It is said that the 3rd. G.F.P.U. Conference in May 1969 was attended by delegations from Algeria, Morocco, Lebanon, Yemen, Sudan and Jordan. In the absence of any real peasant labour organisations in these countries, it seems probable that these delegates were members of the local Baath parties. Only in the case of Jordan were names published (Ahmad al-Shawabka and Mohammed Alwana). The Syrian rival Federation of Peasant Unions was invited and sent the Secretary-General, Baha al-Haj Ali, and a member of the Executive Committee, Samih Mu'allia.

29. The Conference passed a resolution urging the peasants in all arab countries to work for the establishment of a pan-arab Federation of Peasant Unions. The Egyptian delegates (Mahmoud Saddidin of the Central Council of the A.S.U. and Mohammed Jamaleddin of the Egyptian Agricultural Workers' union) were questioned by the press on this matter, and paid lip-service to the idea. However, the evidence indicates that Egypt will not construct a system of peasant unions. The agricultural co-operatives are being more closely organised, and a series of elections have recently been held throughout the structure. A recent policy statement said that the next stage would be for the A.S.U. to 'provide a correct and sound framework for political action within the village so that production by the co-operatives will be well-organised, co-ordinated and integrated. A method must also be found to link the co-operative structures with all levels of the A.S.U. in the provinces'.

H. G.P.U. RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.

30. As in so many other economic fields the Baathists in Iraq have turned to the communist countries for technical assistance in agriculture. To this end an agreement concluded in 1967 between Iraq and Bulgaria was ratified in January 1969. Under this agreement Bulgaria undertook to help Iraq build four model farms, install a seed-improving unit, and provide machinery for harvesting, cleaning and storing produce. This agreement was followed up in August 1969 by a Party/G.P.U. delegation to Bulgaria, led by Issat ad-Douri. The Bulgarian government agreed with the delegation to send experts on collective farming to Iraq; to train Iraqi students in Bulgaria; and to supply further agricultural machinery.

31. In 1969 many visits were exchanged between the G.P.U. and similar organisations in Eastern Europe, including the Peasant Parties of Bulgaria, Poland and East Germany, and the co-operative organisations in Russia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria.

R. S. Morris

14 August, 1970

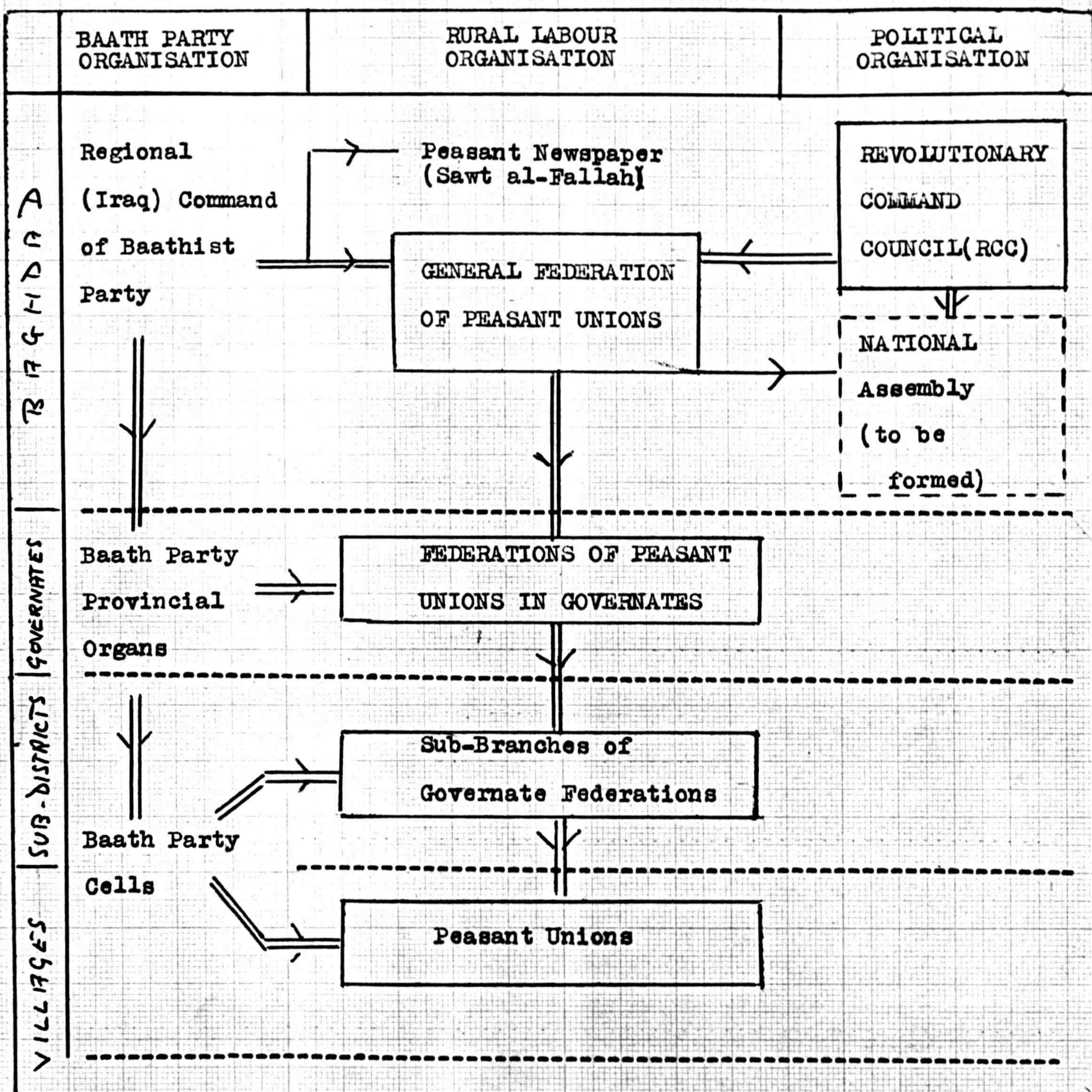
First Secretary (Labour)

Copied for information to:

Overseas Labour Advisers, Foreign & Commonwealth Office (2)
Overseas Section, Dept. of Employment & Productivity (2)
Chancery, British Embassy, Kuwait.

IRAQ

Ref: 5/2

Structure of the Peasant Labour Movement: 1970

IRAQ

APPENDIX 2

Ref: 5/2

Leadership of General Federation of Peasant Unions: 1970

CENTRAL COUNCIL OF GENERAL FEDERATION

Hassein Sayed Jaber
Karim Jassen
Othman Mohammed Ramidh

Chairman
Secretary-General
Vice-Chairman

Muhaen al-Sha'alan
Nazem Kadham
Sadeq al-Hundani
Abdullah al-Awadi
Kadhim Abdul Hassan

(Information incomplete. The full Central Council consists of 25 members, with 12 substitute members. It is probable that the chairmen of the provincial federations are ex-officio members of the Central Council.)

CHAIRMAN OF PROVINCIAL FEDERATIONS

Ahmed Khalaf Khedair	Ramadi
Abdullah al-Awadi	Anbar
Abdul Rahman Iassim	Arbil
Methgal Attiyah	Diwaniya
"Abu Yusif"	Nasariya
Ibrahim al-Muteb	Baghdad
Abdul Jabbar al-Mi'zin	Diyala

(Information incomplete.)

IRAG

REF 5/2

BUSSYRITY 4.10

ANSWER BOOK

Presented to the Senate on 10 June 1970.

(Information incomplete)

SPARE NCS 14

CYPHER CAT/A

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIORITY BAGHDAD

TO F C O

TELEGRAM NO. 585

03 SEPTEMBER 1970

CONFIDENTIAL

TOP COPY

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10

-4 SEP 1970

NEQ 1131
NCS

ADDRESSED TO FCO TELNO 585 DATED 3/9
REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO CAIRO, AMMAN, BEIRUT,
TEHRAN, KUWAIT, BAHRAIN RESIDENCY, WASHINGTON, MOSCOW,
PARIS, TEL AVIV JIS(NE), JIS(GULF). MOD (DI 4).

IRAQ INTERNAL SITUATION.

SPECULATION HERE ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE REGIME HAS RECENTLY BECOME WIDESPREAD. THE BA'ATH GOVERNMENT HAS NEVER IN THE EYES OF MANY PEOPLE BEEN SO ISOLATED OR INSECURE. CAIRO AND BAGHDAD ARE AT DAGGERS DRAWN WITH RELATIONS AT A NEW LOW EBB : IRAQ IS SURROUNDED BY HOSTILE NEIGHBOURS: THE RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN CAIRO AND TEHRAN HAS INCREASED IRAQ'S INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION, AND RELATIONS WITH JORDAN ARE COMPLICATED BY THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EASTERN FRONT : THE KURDS ARE SHOWING INCREASING DISSATISFACTION WITH THE MARCH SETTLEMENT AND IT IS NOW DOUBTFUL IF IT WILL STICK : THE REGIME IS UNPOPULAR IN IRAQ, PARTICULARLY WITH THE MIDDLE CLASSES, Owing TO FOOD SHORTAGES AND LACK OF BUSINESS FOR THE PRIVATE SECTORS: STAGNATION HAS BEEN INCREASED BY THE REGIME SENDING LARGE QUANTITIES OF MONEY OUT OF THE COUNTRY FOR ITS OWN PURPOSES: THERE IS DISSATISFACTION AMONGST SERVING AND RECENTLY RETIRED OFFICERS AT PARTY INFILTRATION OF THE FORCES WITH CONSEQUENT LOWERING IN MORALE: THE PARTY HAS NO ALLIES AT HOME AND HAS ARRESTED MANY COMMUNISTS AND OTHERS OVER THE LAST FEW WEEKS: THERE IS A FAIRLY WIDESPREAD FEELING THAT NASSER AND HUSSAIN HAD TAKEN THE RIGHT LINE OVER THE ROGERS PLAN. RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW ARE COOL FOLLOWING SADDAM'S VISIT. IT WOULD ONLY TAKE THE RETURN OF THE SALAHUDIN FORCES FROM JORDAN TO TOPPLE THE REGIME. THESE ARE THE THINGS BEING SAID..

12. THERE

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2. THERE WERE CERTAINLY UNTIL RECENTLY OVERT SIGNS OF TENSION HERE. ALMOST CERTAINLY AN ATTEMPTED COUP WAS NIPPED IN THE BUD ON OR ABOUT 22 AUGUST. INCREASED SECURITY PRECAUTIONS - NOW RELAXED - WERE OBVIOUS, THE FORMER PRIME MINISTER NAJI TALIB WAS REPORTED TO BE UNDER HOUSE ARREST AND THERE WERE ARRESTS AND RETIREMENTS OF OFFICERS IN THE ARMED FORCES, POLICE AND SECURITY. PARTY MEMBERS WERE IN SECRET CONCLAVE FOR LONGER PERIODS THAN USUAL. THE REGIME WAS THOUGHT BY SOME TO BE HAVING SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT THE ROGERS PLAN, ALTHOUGH RECENT EVENTS CONCERNING JORDAN SEEM TO BELIE THIS. PRESS COMMENT AGAINST CAIRO CONTINUES UNABATED AND THE RESUMPTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.A.R. AND IRAN HAS ONLY INCREASED PRESS FURY. SOME OBSERVERS ATTRIBUTE THIS PRESS CAMPAIGN TO THE CLASSIC NEED OF A REGIME WITH INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES TO CONCENTRATE ON EXTERNAL FOES.

3. SOME OBSERVERS TOO HAVE DETECTED A RELATIVE WEAKENING IN THE POSITION OF SADDAM AS AGAINST OTHER MEMBERS OF THE PARTY AND MURTAJHA AL HADITHI AT ONE EXTREME AND AMMASH AND HARDAN TIKRITI AT THE OTHER HAVE ALL BEEN TIPPED AS CANDIDATES FOR ENHANCED STATURE.

4. ALTHOUGH RUMOURS HAVE BEEN RIFE, MANY HAVE BEEN SPICED, I SUSPECT, WITH A LARGE PINCH OF WISHFUL THINKING. THE HOPE THAT THE SALAHUDIN FORCE WOULD, LIKE A DEUS EX MACHINA, RETURN TO RID THE COUNTRY OF BA'ATHISTS REFLECTS SUCH THINKING, ALTHOUGH AN UNPREDICTABLE CHAIN OF EVENTS COULD EVENTUATE FROM TENSIONS WITHIN THIS FORCE. THE REGIME IS ISOLATED, UNPOPULAR AND POSSIBLY DIVIDED. HOWEVER, THEY APPEAR COMPARATIVELY RELAXED WHEN MAKING PUBLIC APPEARANCES AND HAVE HITHERTO SHOWN REMARKABLE POWERS OF SURVIVAL AND AN ABILITY TO CLOSE RANKS IF THREATENED. THE APPARENT FRUSTRATION OF A COUP ON 22 AUGUST SUGGESTS THAT THEY STILL HAVE MATTERS WELL IN HAND. CERTAINLY, THE LOCAL TENSION HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLY REDUCED AND IT IS GENERALLY AGREED THAT THE IRAQI BA'ATH IS SO SECURITY CONSCIOUS, WELL-ARMED AND DETERMINED THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO TOPPLE THEM COULD ONLY BE A VERY BLOODY AFFAIR.

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BAGHDAD TELEGRAM NO. 585 TO F.C.O.

- 3 -

5. POLITICAL PREDICTION IN IRAQ IS NOTORIOUSLY HAZARDOUS BUT
OUR BEST GUESS IS THAT THE REGIME IS NOT IMMEDIATELY THREATENED,
ALTHOUGH A NEW SITUATION COULD DEVELOP QUITE QUICKLY.

FCO PLEASE PASS ROUTINE TEHRAN, WASHINGTON, PARIS, AND
DEFCOMMCEN.

DEFCOMMCEN PASS MOD DI 4 JIS(NE) AND JIS GULF.

MR. HAWLEY

/REPEATED AS REQUESTED/

/SENT TO D.C.C./

FCO/WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

NR. EASTERN DEPT.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

Mr S. L. Egerton,
Near Eastern Dept.



Mr

20/1

An interesting paper ~~Magnum Opus~~ 21/8
Mr Egerton

With the compliments

20/1
S

of the

OVERSEAS LABOUR ADVISER

Mo
JWW

January 1918

111

1. CARRIES TO. MR C. KING U.S. EMBASSY
MOO (Copy)
PUSA (ASSESSMENT STAFF)
SAND RD 3/4
MR RES DEPT
MEMORANDUM ADDED 3/4.
P.M. TAWFIQ (Copy)
M. EGYPT CONFIDENTIAL
N.A.D. Reg. to relevant

(will bring back with
19 October?.....)
BRITISH EMBASSY

35

(1/12) II ENTER.

BAGHDAD

29 August, 1970

PO. MM
4A.

Dear Peter.

P.M.A. 3/4.

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10
370
NEQ 1/1

Internal Situation

In my letter 1/12 of 22 August I mentioned an air of tension in the country. This tension is continuing and indeed it seems that some attempt at a coup may have been made on Saturday 22 August, though we saw nothing of this in Baghdad itself.

2. It is not easy to obtain hard information but there was unusual activity at Ba'quba on 22 August. One story circulating was to the effect that Colonel Shakarji, who commands the Sixth Armoured Division, had attempted to "spring" a number of prisoners from the gaol in Ba'quba. The names specifically mentioned were General Faisal Ansari, who was Chief of the General Staff of the Iraqi Army until February 1969 and Brigadier Aziz Tawfiq. This story did not seem to ring particularly true as Shakarji is well-known as a Ba'athist, but this did not prevent it being embellished by story tellers who maintained that General Ansari and the other officers had managed to get away to Iran. It seems much more likely that there was an attempt by the Twentieth Infantry Brigade stationed at Khanaqin to move into Baghdad - perhaps on a routine move earlier ordered by the Minister of Defence - during which they intended in the classical Iraqi manner to stage a coup. The suggestion is made that the police and security forces in the capital would have joined them and that the garrison at Mahawil, south of Baghdad, would also have collaborated. The complexion of this alleged coup is slightly uncertain but was probably Nasserite.

3. When I went on leave, there were many middle class Iraqis who were prepared to respect the Ba'athist Government, which indeed even achieved a measure of popularity in the immediate aftermath of the Kurdish settlement. This attitude of mind seems to have evaporated and we are now hearing the same sort of stories as we heard in the autumn of 1968 to the effect that the Ba'ath cannot last much longer. Certainly they have few

/friends

J.P. Tripp, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London, S.W.1.

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friends left in the private sector and many middle class Iraqis seem to be complaining of food shortages, high taxation and lack of government money inhibiting development schemes and government purchasing.

4. A large number of army officers too are complaining that the Ba'ath Party has wrecked the Armed Forces by wholesale retirements of senior and competent officers. The situation is aggravated by the fact that officers dismissed from the Army in the past have found ready niches in the private sector as import and export agents, but now this particular field of activity is closed to them. It is hard to be specific about figures, but we have heard that 71 officers were retired early in July, and 106 were put at the disposal of the civil administration at the end of July. In addition, 18 officers and ex-officers were offered the chance of imprisonment or a free ticket to Cairo with 1,000 dinars in cash. Most are alleged to have availed themselves of the ticket to Cairo. These latter were naturally Nasserite officers whose loyalty was regarded as suspect.

Yours ever

Donald

(D. F. Hawley)

Copy to: D.L. Stewart, Esq., C.M.G.,
British Embassy, Cairo.

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CHER CAT/A

CONFIDENTIAL

SG

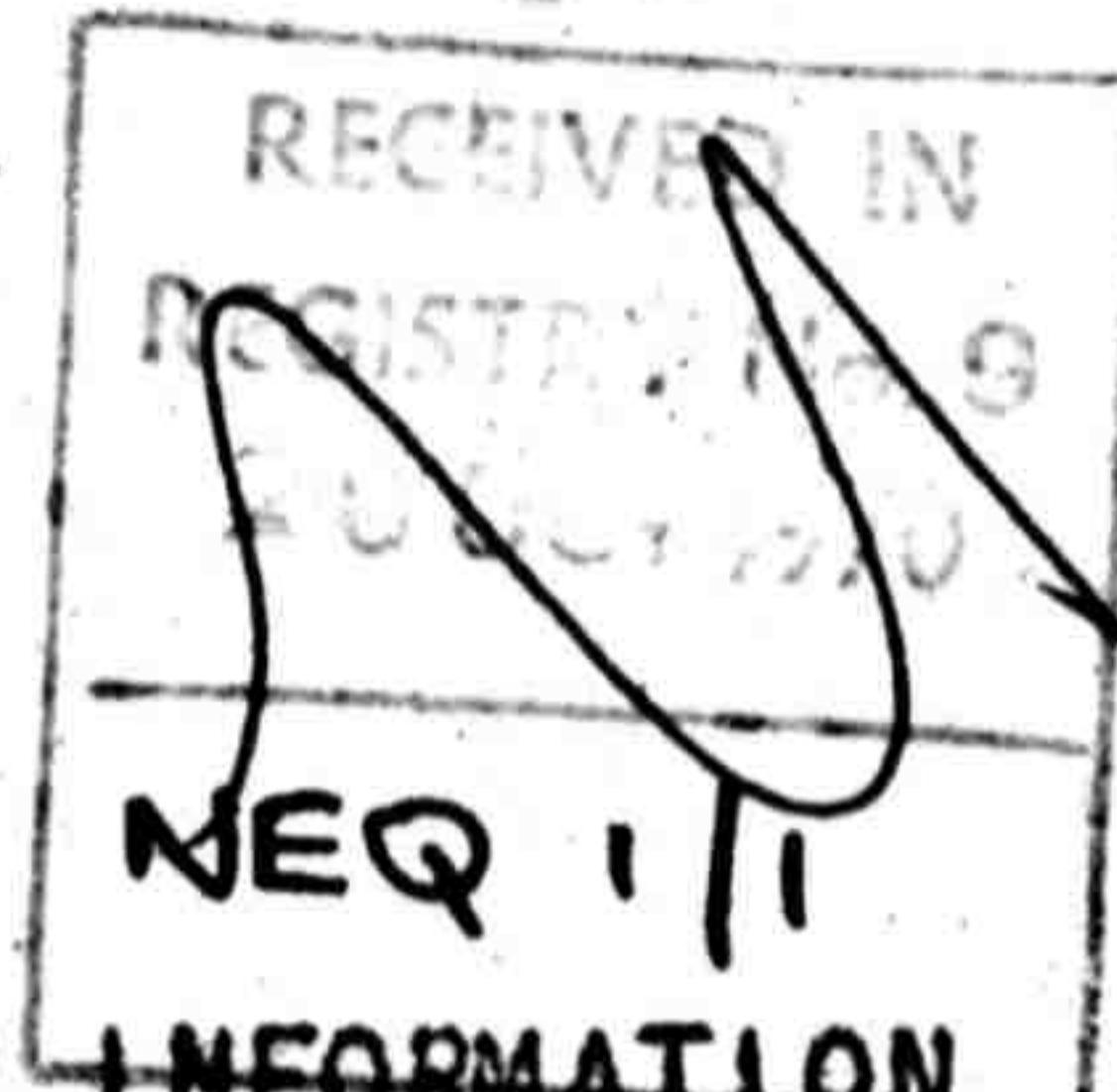
PRIORITY BAGHDAD
TELEGRAM NO. 743

TO F C O
20 OCTOBER 1970

TOP COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

200710Z



20
JUN 10

ADDRESS TO FCO TELNO. 743 OF 20/10 REPEATED FOR INFORMATION
ROUTINE TO ALGIERS, BEIRUT AND CAIRO.

MY TELNO. 730 : DISMISSAL OF VICE PRESIDENT TIKRITI
(NOT TO ALGIERS).

IT IS NOW ESTABLISHED THAT TIKRITI WAS TAKEN BACK
TO ATHENS IN THE SAME IRAQI AIRWAYS PLANE AND IT IS GENERALLY
BELIEVED THAT HE HAS SUBSEQUENTLY GONE TO ALGIERS.
UNCORROBORATED STORIES HAVE BEEN CIRCULATING OF OCCASIONAL
SHOOTING HERE AND THERE IN THE CAPITAL, BUT THERE IS NO SIGN
OF A CHALLENGE DEVELOPING TO THE PARTY LEADERSHIP.

FCO PASS ROUTINE TO ALGIERS.

MR. BALFOUR PAUL

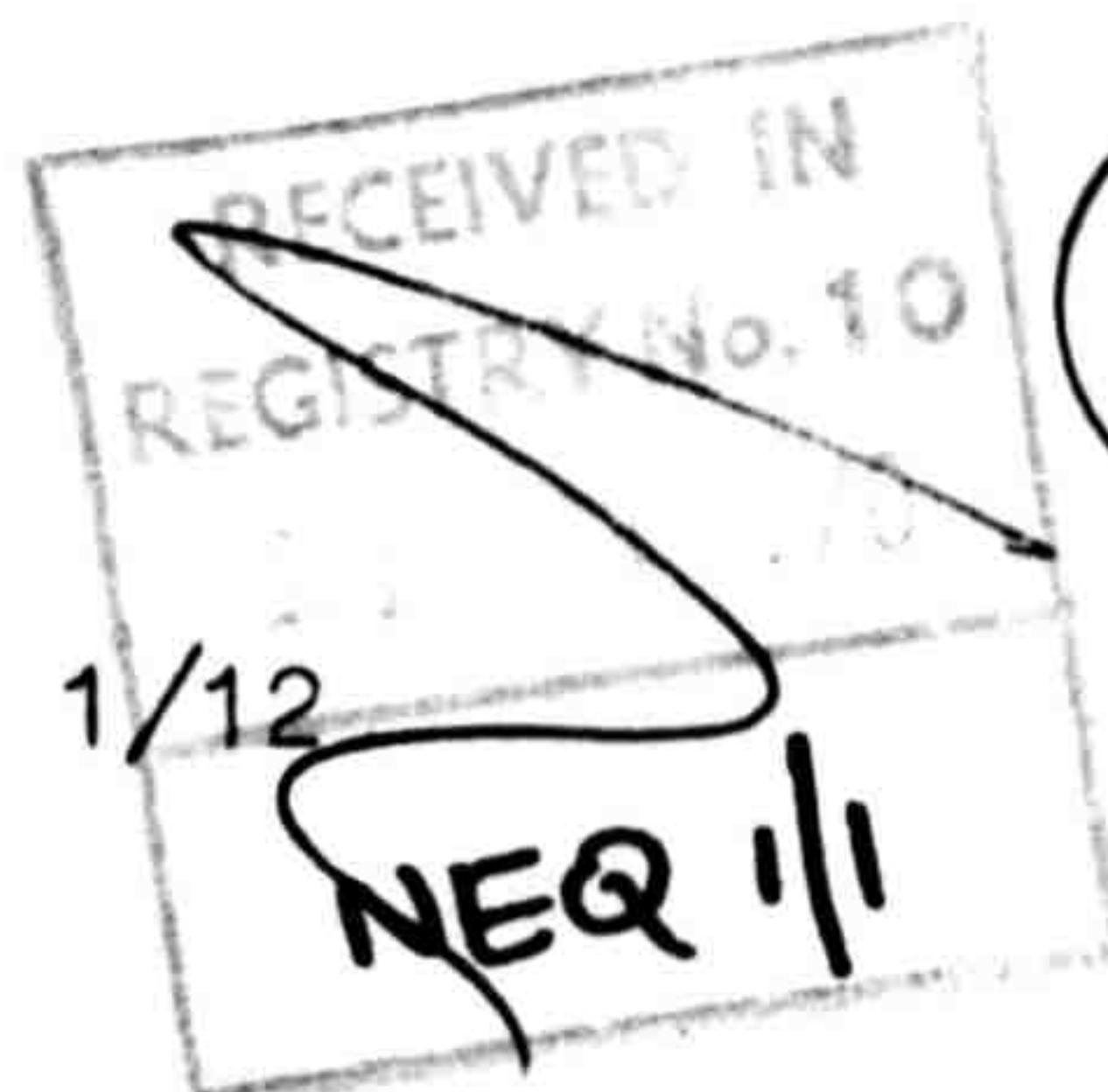
[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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ARAB DEPT.
MOD INTERNAL

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(37)



BRITISH EMBASSY,
BAGHDAD.

Reference No. 1/12

10 October, 1970

My dear Peter.

Mr Long

Mr Egerton

Mr Mackinson

Encls. R.E. 17/10

See Jm 27/10

THE INTERNAL SCENE

This is another rag-bag letter. The chief impression one has in Baghdad at present is of a deafening silence; nothing at all seems to be happening. The two main papers al Jumhuriyah and al Thawra have virtually given up writing editorials since Nasser's death and main headlines are given to such matters as the internal situation in Bolivia and Agrarian Reform! Everyone is asking "what is happening?" and no one seems able to give a very coherent reply. There are, however, one or two snippets of information which may be of interest.

2. Iraq's reaction to Nasser's death was in many ways predictable. Essentially the Baghdad Ba'athists must regard the present as the ideal time for making a real effort to establish themselves as leaders of the Arab World. Equally predictable, the gap between aspiration and achievement, remains large. However, the Arab Ambassadors here think very ill indeed of the way in which the Iraqis behaved over Nasser and, as already reported in my tel No. 694, they all boycotted the opening of the Baghdad International Fair on the day of Nasser's funeral. There must be a good deal of pro Nasser and pro U.A.R. feeling still in Iraq, and many Iraqis would undoubtedly have liked to see some sign of overt sorrow on Nasser's death. Perhaps the Iraqi authorities have clamped down as hard as they have on any manifestation because they fear the genie which might appear from the bottle if they uncorked it!

3. On the other hand we still have the impression that the Iraqis are behaving with moderation behind the smoke screen of communiqués and statements by the Commando organisations. It seems fairly clear that they have already withdrawn elements of two brigades from Jordan and there is evidence suggesting that they may possibly be intending to withdraw still more. On the other hand the Russian Charge d'Affaires, Fedotov, curiously told the French Ambassador with some vehemence that the Iraqis were definitely not withdrawing. The Iraqis appear to be maintaining links with the P.L.O. and the other Commando movements. They also had a misunderstanding with Lebanon over commando activity. (Beirut tel No. 560.)

/4. We

J. P. Tripp, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
LONDON S.W.1.

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- 2 -

*He has now been sacked. RE.
'71.*

4. We have little further hard news about the régime itself. Hardan al Tikriti went off on 7 October via Rome, Lisbon and Madrid, on his way to New York, and the only member of the régime whose movements have been reported on much locally recently has been Ammash. Some prominence was given to his tour of the pavilions at the Baghdad International Fair on 8 October - perhaps to compensate for the fiasco on 1 October. In this connection it may be significant that when I asked for an appointment with Saddam, the Protocol Department said that they would put forward the request, but in the dealings I have had with them during the last week I formed the impression that I would be more likely to see Ammash - if anyone! We have heard no more of Abdul Khaliq al Samarrai, about whom I wrote last week but it is reliably reported that Shibli al Aisami a member of the National Command of the Ba'ath has left for Beirut after disagreements with the Regional Command in Baghdad. The Minister of Defence, Shihab, who went to Moscow on 15 September allegedly for medical treatment, appears still to be there.

5. We have reported separately some interesting writing in the K.D.P's paper, al -Taakhi and there was an incident concerning the Pish Mergah in Kirkuk a few days ago. Stories about what happened precisely vary considerably, but I.P.C. told me that security forces picked up a member of the Pish Merah for carrying a weapon in Kirkuk and the Pish Mergah reacted by completely surrounding the Security Building for a while.

6. Meantime the Russian Ambassador has gone back to Moscow for consultations. He was reliably reported to have looked a very worried man when he heard of Nasser's death but it is certainly not surprising that he should be recalled to discuss the general situation in the Middle East and in Iraq at the present time.

Yours ever

D. Hawley

(D. F. Hawley)

Copied to:

D.L.L. Stewart, Esq., C.M.G., CAIRO.
D. F. Murray, Esq., TEHRAN.
E.F. Given, Esq., C.M.G., BEIRUT.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN/AX
BBC B

NE

6/11, Colu 00
6/11, Censor Office

MR DAIN

38

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11

BAATHIST +CONFLICT+ IN BAGHDAD: AL-AHRAM'S BEIRUT CORRESPONDENT ~~(CP)~~

MON. SERVICE NOTE: FOR INFORMATION ONLY: NOT TO BE ATTRIBUTED TO
MENA

PMW
4/11

(MIDDLE EAST NEWS AGENCY) CAIRO: 'AL-AHRAM' QUOTES ITS BEIRUT CORRESPONDENT AS SAYING THAT REPORTS REACHING THE LEBANESE CAPITAL FROM BAGHDAD INDICATE THAT A MAJOR CONFLICT IS TAKING PLACE IN THE IRAQI CAPITAL. THE PAPER SAYS: IT SEEMS THE CONFLICT IS TAKING PLACE BETWEEN SEVERAL BAATH PARTY ELEMENTS AND ITS EFFECT IS SPREADING TO SEVERAL IRAQI ARMY SECTIONS.

MF BBC MON 0055 4/11 G.T.

B2 CONFLICT 2: +MILITARY CLASHES+: BRIGADE COMMANDER KILLED

THE PAPER ADDS: THE LATEST REPORTS BY ARRIVALS IN BEIRUT FROM IRAQ INDICATE THAT MILITARY CLASHES TOOK PLACE AS A RESULT OF THIS CONFLICT AND THAT A COMMANDER OF AN IRAQI BRIGADE WAS KILLED WHEN HE ATTEMPTED TO ADVANCE TOWARDS BAGHDAD.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE VARIOUS WINGS OF THE BAATH PARTY BROKE OUT FOLLOWING THE DISMISSAL OF AIR LT.-GEN. HARDAN ABD AL-GHAFFAR AL-TIKRITI FROM THE BAATH PARTY AND FROM ALL HIS OFFICIAL POSTS, HIS DEPORTATION FROM IRAQ ON HIS ARRIVAL (ED: FROM A VISIT ABROAD), AND PRESIDENT AL-BAKR'S REFUSAL TO ALLOW HIM TO BURY HIS WIFE, WHO DIED IN ALGIERS, IN IRAQ. SHE WAS BURIED IN ALGIERS.

END BBC MON 0059 4/11 G.T. (KY)

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REGISTRY No. 10
-4 NOV 1970
NEQ 11

Cutting dated 6 NOV 1970, 19

39

Q
PH

SIX SHOT IN IRAQ PURGE

SIX Army officers have been executed by firing squad in Iraq in the bitter power struggle going on there, according to a Cairo report.

The semi-official newspaper *Al-Ahram* says that the executions took place after big trials throughout Iraq.

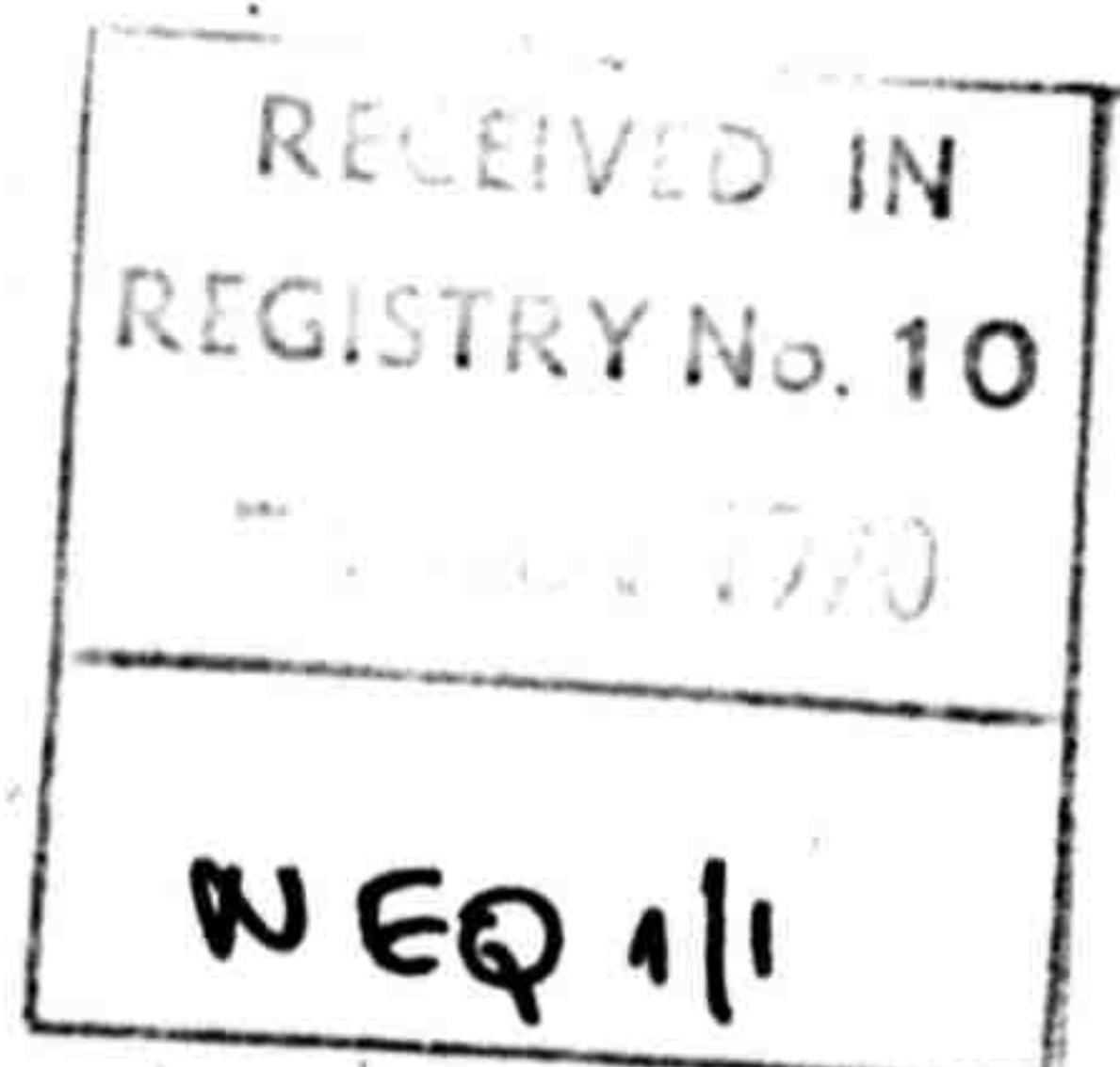
The upheaval was caused during seizure of power by Sidam Hussein, vice-president of the ruling Revolution Command Council.

"Vice-President next"

According to *Al-Ahram* the next man to be purged is Vice-President Saleh Mahdi Ammash.

He flew to Cairo yesterday at the head of a delegation to attend ceremonies marking the end of the official 40-day period of mourning for President Nasser.

The Beirut newspaper *Al-Rayah*, which speaks for the Baath party, says Sidam Hussein is now the most powerful man in Iraq and is carrying out purges and dismissals within the régime.—U F I.



Rey. A.

PMM

6/11

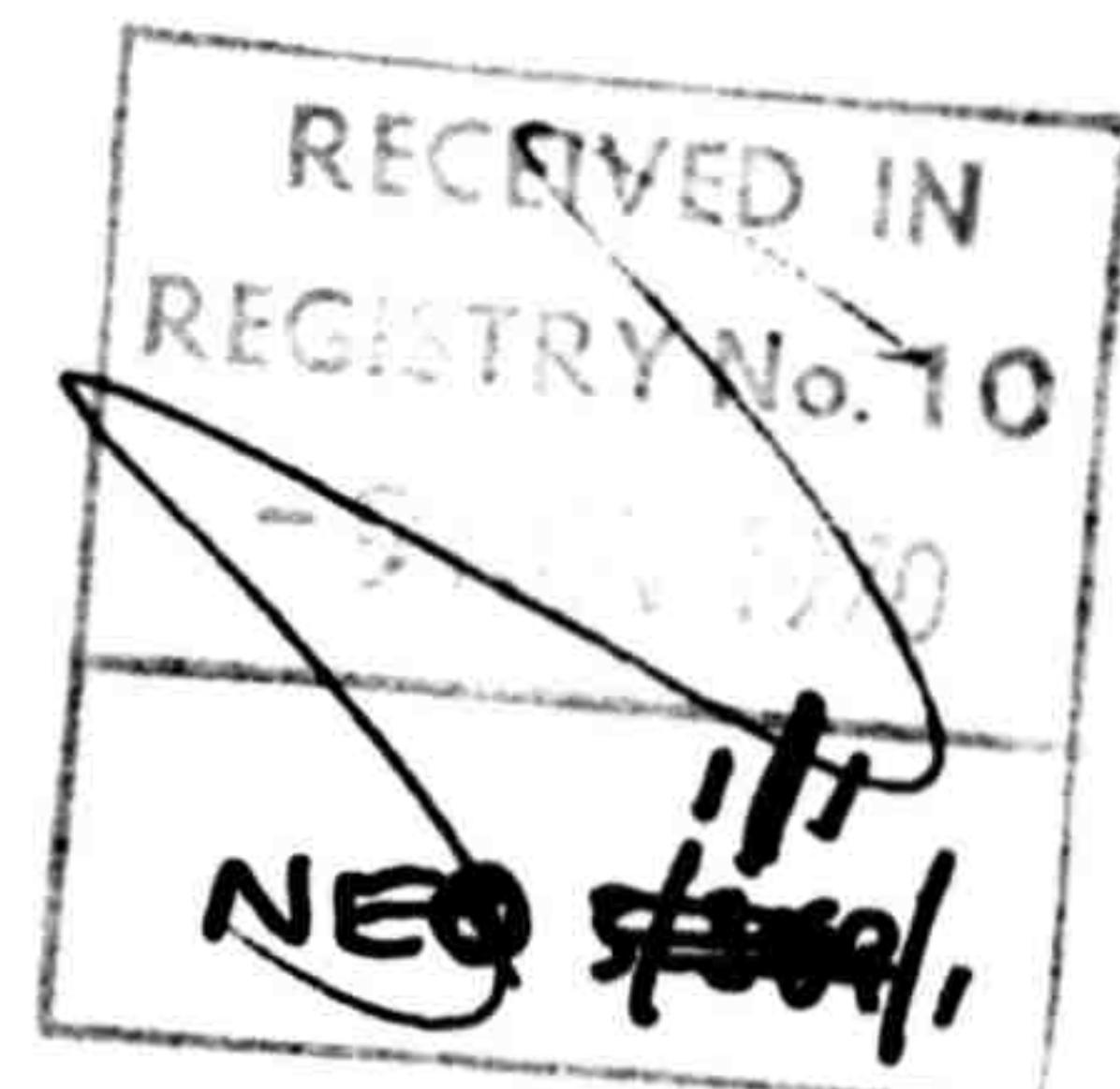
ccm - to. port (Mr. Rendle)
II 1.R.D. ~~Johns~~ (Hewell)
9/11



BRITISH EMBASSY,
MOSCOW.

40

4 November, 1970



Dear Department -

Syria and Iraq

The Soviet press made no direct reference to the Ba'ath leadership struggles in either country. This is not to say that the alert Soviet reader will not have guessed that something was going on in these two countries. Lest anybody should have discovered from the B.B.C. or other sources that some changes had taken place, the weekly international affairs journal "New Times" on two occasions in the same article appearing on 30 October, specifically rejected "the fantasies appearing in the western press about alleged new crises in leading circles in Syria and Iraq and of the resignation of a number of leading party and state personalities in these countries which, it was maintained, demonstrated that the fall of the anti-imperialist parties of these states was imminent." Pravda of 26 October carried an enigmatic little report that the state of emergency in Iraq had been lifted. There had been no mention of its introduction.

Yours ever -

Nick Livingston

(N.H. Livingston)

Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

C.C.
Chanceries at:
Baghdad
Beirut

~~A useful letter
on the "word count"~~
COPIES TO ~~Mr Egyption~~ ~~Mr Egyption~~
BIRD

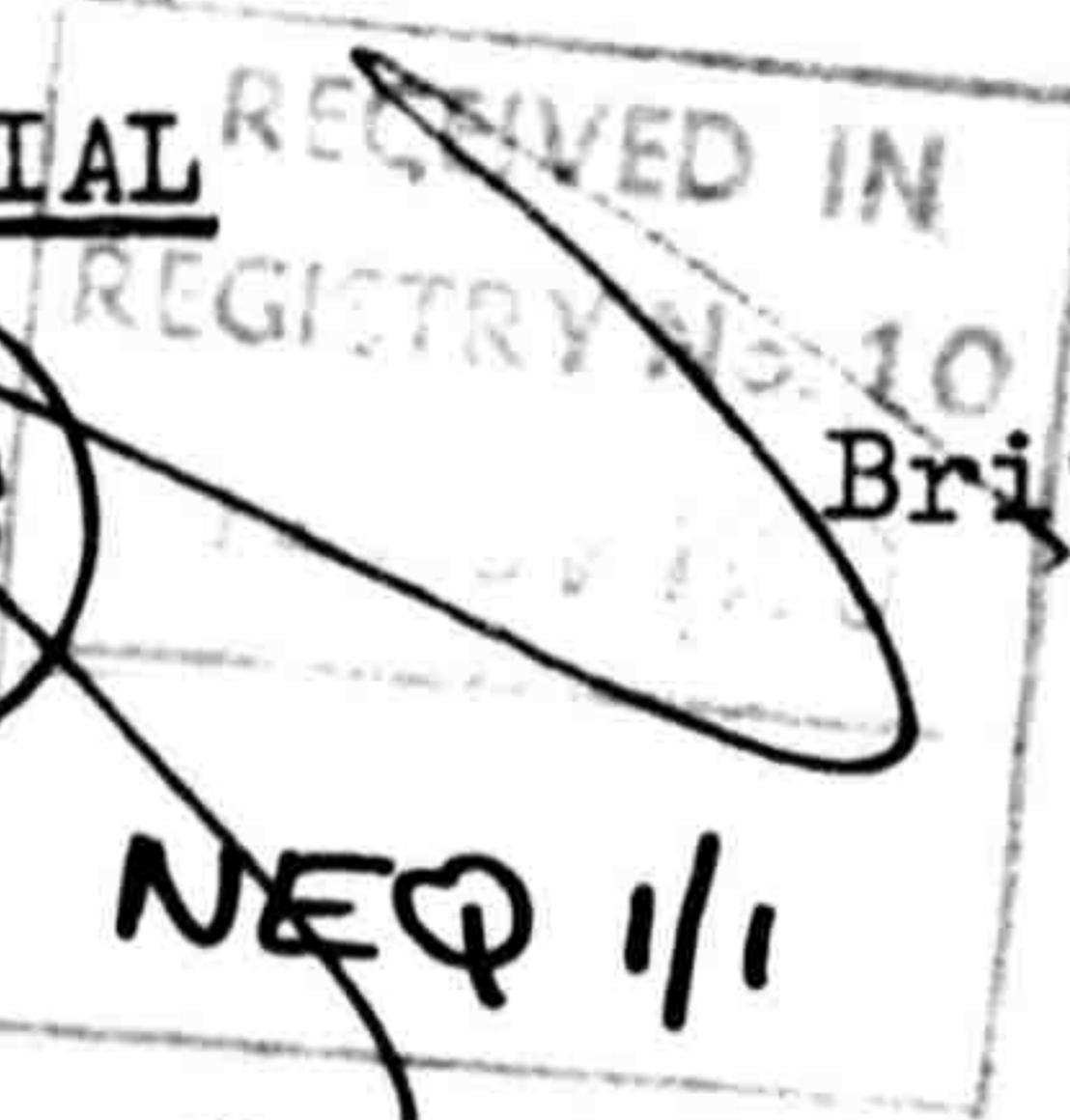
RES. DEPT
(no RUMOUR)

done ~~PUSD (Assessment
stage)~~
1/1 ~~M.O.D (D14)~~

Mr Wilson Hinchcliffe (U.S. Embassy)

(1/12)

Regr. ref. 411



British Embassy,
BAGHDAD

PH

4

7 November, 1970.

re P. M. W.
D. H.

Dear Peter,

Lifting of the State of Emergency

On 24 October President raised the state of emergency which had been in force for the last five years, under the terms of the National Security Law No. 4 of 1965. (In fact a State of Emergency had been in force for most of the time since 1935 under the Martial Administration law of that year.)

2. I enclose a copy of the full text of the Republican Decree announcing this decision. As you will see, it also provides for the abolition of the State Security courts and the re-distribution of their work between the criminal and revolutionary courts.

3. No doubt the full text of the National Security Law No. 4 of 1965 exists somewhere in your archives. But, you might find it useful to have a brief synopsis of its more important provisions. Once a State of Emergency had been declared, the President had power to:

- (a) restrict the movement of citizens within the country and to abroad;
- (b) impose detention or house arrest on suspicion; to order the search of any person or place;
- (c) to restrict the freedom of assembly and to dissolve societies, clubs, etc. if they are proved to be a danger to the security;
- (d) to prohibit entry to certain places or areas;
- (e) to order the extradition of foreigners or to prohibit their entry into Iraq;
- (f) to impose censorship on all publications, films and postal communications.

The Law also provided for the setting up of a State Security court to try both offences committed under the Law and other

.../offences

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

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- 2 -

offences affecting internal and external security.

4. We are not sure why the state of emergency was lifted at this particular time. Originally, we suspected that it might possibly be a further move to limit the power of the military, following the removal of Hardan Tikriti: but against this the powers of the Armed Forces during a state of emergency were, under the law, mainly executive. The main reason of course for the imposition of a state of emergency in 1965 was the fighting in Kurdistan: but the 11 March settlement with the Kurds did not by any means require that it be lifted. Indeed the continuing existence of a "state of war" with Israel, and of tension on the borders with Iran, would both have been sufficient to warrant a continuation of the state of emergency under the terms of the National Security Law and it is unlikely that the régime would easily have given up these extensive powers without some tangible advantages.

5. We are inclined to think that the régime's main purpose in lifting the state of emergency was to gain some propaganda advantage by further "demonstrating" the stability of the régime. This may have seemed particularly advantageous after the rash of speculation which followed Hardan Tikriti's dismissal.

6. This theory gains some support from the press treatment of the announcement. In an editorial on 25 October Al Thawra said that the state of emergency had become the symbol of dictatorial rule and remained so until the revolution of 17 July 1968. But now, the revolution was becoming stronger every day; it had eliminated the spy rings, suppressed reactionary elements, liberated the country's resources from the monopolist oil companies and had solved the Kurdish problem peacefully and democratically. Thus, the régime had now gained sufficient self-confidence and popular support to enable it to arrange the affairs of the country through the normal channels. This party line was reflected in press comment elsewhere.

7. Theoretically, many of the restrictions on individual freedom, tiresome enough for us and even more so for the ordinary Iraqi, should now have been removed. But we doubt if in practice the government will allow many of its restrictive powers under the National Security Law to lapse. So far, there is little evidence for us to go on: although foreign newspapers appear (perhaps by coincidence) to be arriving more reliably than in the past, private mail is apparently still censored. Thus it remains to be seen whether the announcement will have any detectable effect on personal liberties or whether it will turn out to be no more than window-dressing.

*Yours,
Christopher.*

(A. C. D. S. MacRae)

C.C. P. Joy, Esq., BEIRUT.

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STATE OF EMERGENCY ENDED

President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr issued on Saturday a Republican decree ending the state of emergency in all parts of the Iraqi republic. Following the full text of the Decree. No. 595:

"In accordance with the provisions of Para B of Article 57 of the Provisional Constitution and Article 2 of the Law of National Security No. 4 for the year 1965 (amended) we decree the following:

1. Termination of the state of emergency declared in accordance with Article 30 of the Law No. 4 for the year 1965 (amended) in all parts of the Iraqi Republic.
2. Tranferrance of all the cases submitted to the state security courts and not acquiring finality, to the competent courts in accordance with the penal procedures law; with the exception of the cases of embezzlement, bribery, smuggling, forgery of official documents, the cases of smuggling and selling narcotics, and the cases of weapons, which will be transferred to the revolutionary courts.
3. All decisions of seizures of movable and immovable property issued by us in accordance with the provisions of the National Security Law, will remain effective until annulled by the competent authorities."

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(42)

CYPHER/CAT A

HEADAD TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
TEL.NO. 801 12 NOVEMBER 1970
CONFIDENTIAL 120615Z

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RECEIVED IN.
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12NOV 1970

NEQ 11

ADDRESS TO F C O TELNO. 801 OF 12/11 REPEATED FOR
INFORMATION TO CAIRO AND BEIRUT.

ALTHOUGH AS USUAL ON SUCH OCCASIONS THERE HAS BEEN
NO OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT, IT IS WIDELY REPORTED THAT
BAZZAZ, ANSARI AND SUNDY OTHER PRISONERS WERE RELEASED
LAST WEEKEND FROM JAIL BY THE IRAQI AUTHORITIES.

2. IN BAZZAZ' CASE THE REPORT IS CERTAINLY TRUE,
THOUGH OUR EVIDENCE FOR IT IS NOT QUOTABLE.

MR. BALFOUR PAUL

FILES:

N.E.D.
NEWS D.
SIR P. ADAMS

CONFIDENTIAL

DDDDDD

NE

THE TIMES

Cutting dated 13 NOV 1970 19

(2) 43
PH

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10
NEQ 1/1

Dr Bazzaz is 8
freed by Iraq

A number of political prisoners held by the former Iraq administration have been released following the recent change of leadership in Baghdad, according to reports reaching London.

Among them is Dr. Abdul Rahman Bazzaz, who was Prime Minister from 1965-66

Regrd.

MM

13/11

CO 874/12 E 889/12-
LKS 412/12 ROUTINE F C O

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REGISTRY No. 10
13 NOV 1970
GRS 70
NEQ ||

CYPHER CAT/A
ROUTINE BAGHDAD
TELEGRAM NO. 881
CONFIDENTIAL

TO F C ADVANCE COPY
12 NOVEMBER 1970
120615Z

leg & P.O.
(TO SIR H. Hinchcliffe)

PMT ~~NEQ~~
131x1.

(4 Jun)
Mr. Egeydon.
Mr. Hinchcliffe.

ADDRESS TO F C O TELNO. 881 OF 12/11 REPEATED FOR
INFORMATION TO CAIRO AND BEIRUT.

ALTHOUGH AS USUAL ON SUCH OCCASIONS THERE HAS BEEN
NO OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT, IT IS WIDELY REPORTED THAT
BAZZAZ, ANSARI AND SUNDRY OTHER PRISONERS WERE RELEASED
LAST WEEKEND FROM JAIL BY THE IRAQI AUTHORITIES.

2. IN BAZZAZ' CASE THE REPORT IS CERTAINLY TRUE,
THOUGH OUR EVIDENCE FOR IT IS NOT QUOTABLE.

MR. BALFOUR PAUL

Mr. Balfour May I have

ABDURRUMMAN IN BAZZAZ
LAST P.M. ON 12 NOV 1965-66

Can this be passed on
TO THE TIMES PLEASE.

Should be
Times be dead?

They take (or
took) a lot of
interest in
Bazzaz.

R.E.

12/11

VCO 12/11 M. Hinchcliffe
NEQ

Yes. Sandy

P.M. Hinchcliffe Rendel or Teddy

12/11 Hodgkin wd. be
interested.

X of

P.S. Another sign
of Iraqi self-
confidence, I guess.

or

NNNN

17 NOVEMBER 1970

NEQ 1/

ME/3536/A/9

REF ID: A88887

44

The third repercussion concerns the terrorist organisation Sa'iqah, which, as is known, has so far operated on Syrian initiative. This organisation has been neutralised by General Asad because he has suspected that the Sa'iqah members intervened in the Syrian dispute against him. The result is that Sa'iqah members have been disarmed and some of them arrested.

Baghdad 'Ath-Thawrah' on Release of Detainees

Baghdad home service in Arabic 06.00 GMT 15.11.70

Excerpts from press review quotation of 'Ath-Thawrah' editorial entitled 'The Positiveness of the Revolution, its Self-confidence and its Ability to Suppress Any Conspiracy':

... In the course of past experience the revolution has proved that it cannot in any way condone any form of activity hostile to it, its march or the interests of the toiling masses. The revolution has struck with an iron fist and with unparalleled firmness those who planned dark blood-baths in order to restore the yoke of imperialism and the domination of reaction over the homeland...

The revolution has proved in the past a great ability to suppress and nip in the bud any form of conspiracy. This revolution stands on firm, hard ground. It is supported and protected by the millions of toiling masses for whose benefit it came. This revolution has decided on the basis of the aforementioned assessments that there is no longer any need to continue the imprisonment of those who erred against the revolution and the homeland in the past...

The revolution has decided on this measure, which stems from the revolution's positive nature and self-confidence based on reality, not on self-deception. This, however, does not mean in any way that the revolution will be tolerant towards any future conspiring against the revolution or against the toiling masses' gains, or towards any future retarding of the revolutionary march, whatever the methods of nature of the conspirators or retarders...

The revolution will most certainly continue and it will strike with an iron hand anyone who attempts in any way to conspire against it, its gains or its march, whether he be one of those covered by the recent measures or a new conspirator. The revolution which beheaded the conspirators last (?January) in a matter of a few hours will behead every new conspirator. Our ability in this matter is boundless.

Iraqi Communist Party Congress

'Radio Iran Courier' in Persian 15.30 GMT 15.11.70

Text of report of 'Tariq ash-Sha'b' editorial on the Iraqi Communist Party's Second Congress:

The Iraqi Communist Party's Second Congress was held in September 1970 after extensive preparatory work in organisational, political and ideological fields. The Congress worked for eight days. Its agenda included: debate on and adoption of programme and constitution; amendment of internal constitution; debate on and adoption of the Central Committee's report; and election of a new Central Committee.

Comrade Aziz Mohammad began his opening speech amid long applause, paid tribute to martyrs of the domestic and international communist movement, and called the Congress to order. He then sent greetings to the international session of the fraternal parties and the session on the centennial celebrations for the great Lenin. He then read the Central Committee's report on the international and domestic situation and on the international communist and workers' movement. He described the world communist movement, which is the mightiest movement of our times and mankind's guidance for the future toward socialism and communism.

After describing the proceedings of the June 1969 consultative session of the fraternal parties and the Iraqi Communist Party's active participation in it, he condemned the splitting activities of the Maoist group and reaffirmed the pioneering status of the CPSU, and the importance of Leninist principles and the solidarity of proletarian internationalism for the unity of the world communist movement. The report also described the Arab liberation movement and the urgent tasks facing Arab peoples in expanding the deepening national movements and in resisting imperialist and Zionist aggression.

"Tariq ash-Sha'b" then reviewed the section of the report concerning domestic affairs, and discussed the dual policy of the Iraqi Ba'thist Government which has many negative aspects while also possessing certain positive ones. On this the report says: In foreign policy the Ba'thist Government has generally followed an anti-imperialist path and taken certain steps toward expansion and consolidation of economic independence. These include the Government's efforts to develop the national economy and directly utilise natural resources with the full help of friendly socialist Governments. It has also taken steps to enact a number of pieces of progressive legislation including the land reform law, social insurance law, workers' retirement law, and the new labour law. These are the positive aspects of the Government's policy.

The report evaluates the 11th March 1970 agreement between the Government and the leadership of the Kurdish national movement, and calls for complete implementation of the agreement's provisions.

The report then describes the negative aspects of the Government's policy such as the introduction of provisional laws, modification of the post-17th July laws, retention of the state of emergency in the country, and the deprivation of the people of their natural rights to participate in elections. The report points out that the provisional law's provision for a consultative group in the name of a national assembly will not change the fact that the Ba'thist Government is a government by a political minority.

The report points out that the Ba'thist Government has retained all the reactionary laws and strengthened the organisations to suppress the people and to fight against nationalist parties and the struggle of the masses for freedom.

Citing the report, the paper says the enemies of the people achieve prominence by using the existing policy of suppression and Ba'thist elements. The paper quotes the report as warning the Ba'thist Government that the policy of fighting against communism and of hostility to democracy may lead the Government to the same fate as some newly-liberated countries have experienced as a result of following a dual policy of campaign against colonialism on the one hand and a fight against national and revolutionary forces on the other.

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→ Take me to L.W. with the Attention Corp on 11/1/70

Dr. Fatima al Kharsan; sentenced to life imprisonment January 1970.

Sa'diyah Salih Jabr; sentenced to life imprisonment January 1970.

Advocate Muhsin al Duri; sentenced to hard labour for life January 1970.

Rtd. Staff Lt. Col. Daud al-Ma'adhidi; sentenced to 10 years imprisonment January 1970.

Ahmad Karim; sentenced to hard labour for life January 1970.

Private Salih Jabr; sentenced to 10 years imprisonment January 1970.

Rtd. Major General Ibrahim Faisal al-Ansari; (LPR 1970) Arrested
~~arrested - (see file 47)~~ December 1969 and said to have been
sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for
conspiracy in November 1969.

Rtd. Brigadier Fadhl Mohammad Ali; ex-principal A.D.C. to Abdul Rahman 'Arif. Arrested January 1969, referred to the Revolutionary court at the same time as Ansari and said at that time to have been sentenced to death.

Rtd. Brigadier Abdul Aziz Tawfiq; ex Commander of the Military College, arrested January 1969, sentenced to 15 years imprisonment November 1969.

Daud Abdul Majid

Ahmad Abdul Jibin

Junaid Abdul Razzaq

Fawzi al-Ansari

{ → military officer (m/f)
? }

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ME/3548/A/10

We learned that Juba and other centres had received large numbers of compatriots returning from neighbouring villages with the intention of resettling but who had not been able to find work and shelter to help them settle down and had therefore preferred to return to the jungle... This situation does not encourage citizens to return to the homeland nor does it create stable conditions (?in the South). If the great work of our armed forces in the South is not accompanied by an administrative reform taking notice of the (?problems) and closely linked with development projects, and if it is not supported by political action it will not lead to positive results...

In Juba we found no evidence of activity by the Southern Affairs Ministry, and the appropriations for the South are still being paid to the various Ministries. Therefore we call on the State to give this Ministry executive powers to enable it to carry out its full role in implementing self-government. The new attitude to the southern problem underlined by the 9th June declaration should be developed and (?applied).

The delegation hopes to meet the citizens at a press conference on the day after tomorrow to give a more detailed account (?of the visit)...

Iraqi Presidential Decision on Lifting Restrictions

Baghdad home service in Arabic 11.30 GMT 28.11.70

Text of report:

President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr has issued a Decision rescinding all orders and decisions by the Military Governor-General restricting citizens' freedom issued in accordance with the martial law which the Revolution Command Council had abolished earlier. The following is the text of the Decision:

Acting in accordance with the spirit and principles of the revolution, in view of our desire to enable all citizens to serve the country sincerely and faithfully:

Whereas the Military Governor-General's department had previously issued orders and decisions compelling a large number of citizens to submit guarantees and undertakings to be of good conduct and to refrain from disturbing the peace during the exceptional conditions existing earlier; in view of the fact that the conditions calling for taking such measures no longer exist; and in accordance with the powers vested in me according to Clause 19B of Article 4 of Amended National Security Law No. 4 of 1966; we have decided to abolish all the previous orders and decisions binding persons with guarantees and undertakings to be of good conduct and not to disturb the peace, whether these orders and decisions were issued by the former Military Governor-General, the Military Governor-General for the Northern Area, or the Military Governor for Mosul District.

Arab-Israeli Affairs

Incidents in Gaza Strip An explosive charge went off in the Shuja'iyah quarter in Gaza on 29th November near an electricity pylon. No one was hurt and only slight damage was caused. The electricity supply to Gaza was not disrupted (Israel in Hebrew 18.00 GMT 28.11.70). According to an Israeli spokesman a grenade thrown at an Israeli patrol in the Bayt Hanun area on 28th November resulted in the death of three local residents; two other local residents and three Israeli soldiers were injured (Israel in Hebrew 07.00 GMT 29.11.70).

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their revolutionary path. The Government would then have no alternative but to disregard them and march ahead with the revolution without them. This would make it easier for the Right-wing forces to contain and liquidate the revolution.

The paper was commenting on the Revolution Command Council's recent decisions and the political developments that followed the dismissal of three Council members, the arrest of the Sudanese Communist Party's Secretary-General, Abd al-Khalil Mahjub, and the retirement of a number of officers.

The editorial says: It is a grave mistake for anyone to believe that a single unit could alone assume control, as this phase is one of an alliance of all the revolutionary forces. Others wrongly believe that what happened could be the beginning of a setback or retreat from the revolution's objectives and principles, or a leaning towards the Right.

The paper says: This is mere pessimism, since there can be no retreat from the gains achieved by the revolution. The paper points out that Right-wing forces have been actively attempting to stir up regional sensitivities and conflicts, disseminate rumours, and create a wave of doubts to incite and drive certain elements into opposition to the revolutionary authority. In conclusion, the editorial calls for cohesion and collaboration and says this is the duty of the revolutionary units.

The Situation in Southern Sudan

Omdurman home service 17.00 GMT 28.11.70

Excerpts from "statement addressed to the Sudanese people" [see ME /3545/A/16]:

On the morning of Sunday, 22nd November, a delegation consisting of a group of professors and students of Khartoum University, Cairo University's Khartoum branch, and the general trade unions' council began a three-day visit to Equatoria Province at the invitation of the Armed Forces' General Command...

In the evening there was a meeting lasting over two hours at the Commander's office attended by a number of officers and chaired by the Deputy Commander, Col. Umar at-Tayyib. We exchanged views on the situation in the South following the successful military operations which culminated in the occupation of the two largest rebel camps. On the morning of the following day we flew by helicopter to Moroto camp, which is situated in [words indistinct] Equatoria, five miles from the Sudan-Uganda border...

The accompanying officers told us that the camp was a self-supporting colony which had been the headquarters of successive rebel governments. One of the factors in its importance was that it had an airfield... We heard mortar explosions close to the camp; the armed forces returned the fire. We presume the rebels wanted us to hear them, but the armed forces duly silenced them. On the morning of Tuesday, 24th November, we went by helicopter to Jabal (?Tilo) camp... It commands all the roads leading to Torit, Juba, and the (?Al-Ashang) area...

We could see that the liquidation of major concentrations of rebels has (?brought) the problem of the South to a new stage. It is clear that the new situation produced by rearming our armed forces with modern weapons and the use of helicopters able to penetrate difficult areas in all seasons is gradually destroying any effective rebel military action.

We managed to talk to the leaders... Their conversation was frank and long. Most of them were sons of the South. Their view was that the recent military successes were not quite clear to the southern compatriots and that many did not believe the truth about these successful operations...

RESTRICTED

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BRITISH EMBASSY,
BAGHDAD.

(1/12)



27 November 1970.

Dear Peter,

Release of Detainees

45 A small amendment to my letter of 14 November: Major General al-Ansari (listed seventh in the annex) was arrested in December 1968 (not 1969).

Yours,
Christopher.

(A.C.D.S. MacRae)

P.R.M. Hinchcliffe Esq.,
Near Eastern Dept.,
F.C.O.

- Drm!

Reg'd
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PRIORITY BAGHDAD

TO F C O

TELEGRAM NO. 887

24 DECEMBER 1970

TOP COPY

CONFIDENTIAL 240920Z

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10
24 DECEMBER 1970
NEQ 11

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY LAW.

THE R.C.C. YESTERDAY ISSUED THE LONG-AWAITED NATIONAL ASSEMBLY LAW TO WHICH THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION OF 16 JULY REFERRED. TEXT FOLLOWS BY BAG.

2. IN BRIEF, IT ALLOWS FOR A 100-MAN CHAMBER WITH A 3-YEAR TERM, THE MEMBERS TO BE SELECTED BY THE R.C.C. "FROM AMONG REPRESENTATIVES OF VARIOUS POPULAR SECTORS: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL AND FROM PROGRESSIVE, PATRIOTIC AND NATIONALIST ELEMENTS". THE POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY WERE DEFINED IN ARTICLES 46-55 OF THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION.

3. THIS IS A FAIRLY SMALL MOUSE TO HAVE EMERGED FROM THE RUMBLINGS WHICH PRECEDED THE ANNOUNCEMENT. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TIMING IS NOT YET CLEAR.

MR. BALFOUR PAUL

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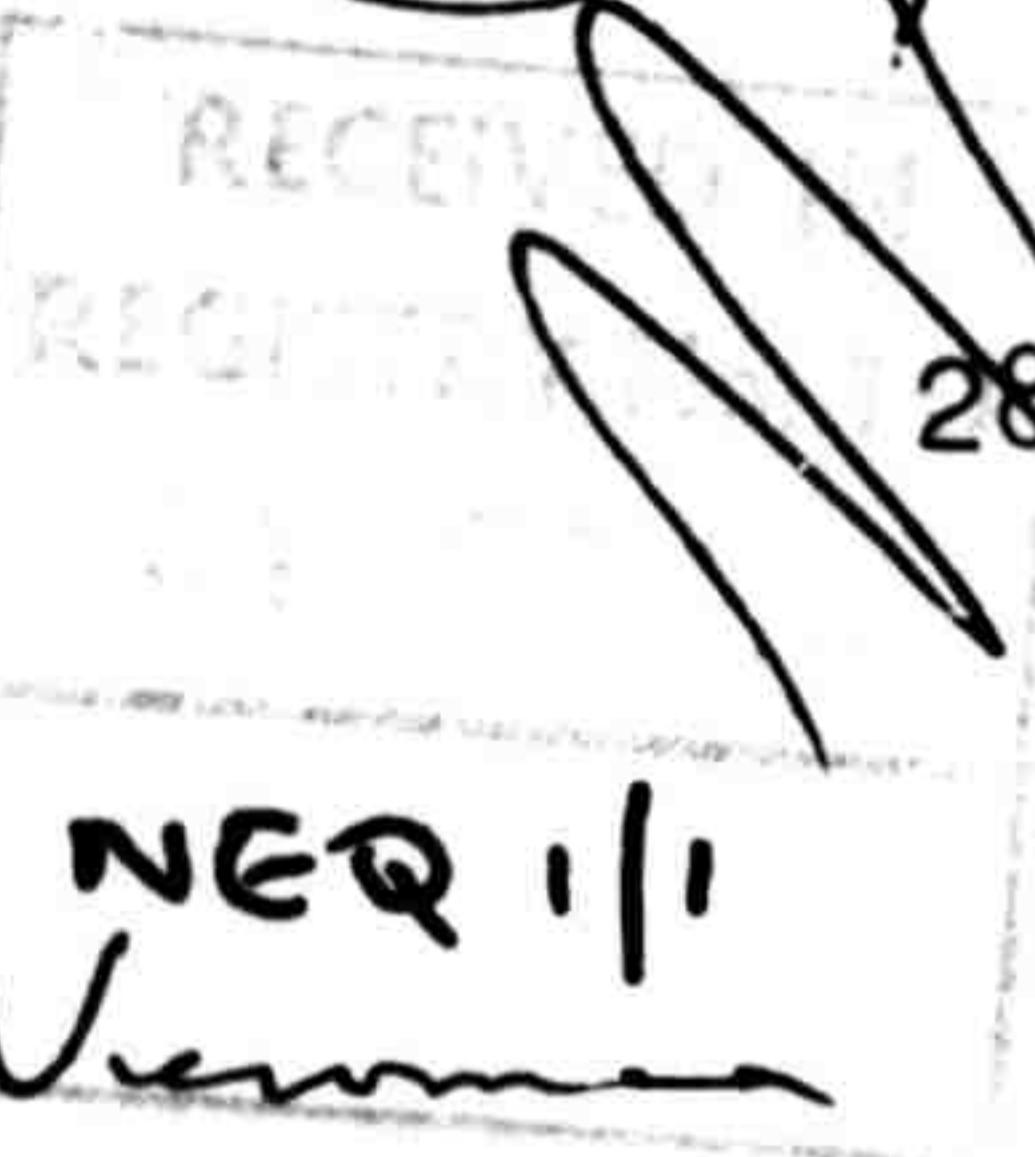
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UNCLASSIFIED



LAST PAPER



28 December, 1970.

Jean Jenner

National Assembly Law

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Please refer to our telegram no. 887.

I now enclose a translation of the
National Assembly Law as it appeared in
the Baghdad Observer of 24 December.

Yours

Miss Jenner.

(M. K. Jenner)

Miss V. E. Beckett,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

Mr. Egerton

~~Copy to Research Dept.~~
sent 4/

pm

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LAST PAPER

In pursuance of the provisions of paragraph (a) of Article 42 and Article 46 of the Interim Constitution, the Revolutionary Command Council decided, at its meeting held on 17 December, 1970, to enact the following Law :-

National Assembly Law No.228 of 1970.

Article 1.

The National Assembly meets in Baghdad and might meet elsewhere when necessary under an edict issued by the Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council.

Article 2.

The Assembly's term runs for three years beginning from its first meeting and ending with the end of the last meeting held in the third year.

Article 3.

The Assembly shall have a membership of 100.

Article 4.

The Revolutionary Command Council shall select the members from among representatives of various popular sectors: political, economic and social and from progressive, patriotic and nationalist elements.

Article 5.

A person to qualify for membership of the Council must answer the following terms:

- 1 - He should be an Iraqi by birth with parents also Iraqi by birth.
- 2 - He must not be below 25 years of age.
- 3 - He should be enjoying full civil rights.
- 4 - He must not have been imprisoned for upward of one year on a non-political crime, and must not have been imprisoned at all on any crime compromising honour and for which rehabilitation had been obtained.

Article 6.

The member of the Assembly shall be considered as representing the Republic in its entirety.

Article 7.

A person may not combine membership of the Assembly and any public office in official or semi-government departments.

Article 8.

A member of the Assembly may not become Director General, Board Chairman or member of the board of any limited stock company or limited liability company or any public establishments for the duration of his term of membership.

Article 9.

A member of the Assembly, for the duration of his membership, may not enter into a contract, directly or indirectly with the government or with public artificial persons as contractor in any way or buy any of the state properties or sell or rent out to the state any of his own properties.

Article 10.

Membership of the Assembly does not end unless with the end of the Assembly's term or with the issuance of a decree dissolving it or with lifting the membership of the member.

Article 11.

No member may be deprived of membership unless with a two-third majority of members and at the recommendation of the Speaker or a minimum of twenty members.

Article 12.

The member of the Assembly may resign his seat. The resignation shall be considered effective from the date it is accepted by the Assembly.

Article 13.

The member of the Assembly shall, in a public session, take the following oath before assuming his duties: "I swear by the Almighty Allah to be loyal to my homeland and my nation, to serve the Republican Institution, care for the gains of the July 17 Revolution, respect constitution and law and safeguard the interests of the people and the territorial unity of the homeland".

Article 14.

The Speaker shall inform the Revolutionary Command Council of any seat that, for any reason, falls vacant, so that steps can be taken to select a replacement.

Article 15.

The Assembly shall hold its first sitting under the chairmanship of the eldest member. At this first sitting, the Assembly shall elect, by secret ballot, a Speaker and two Deputy Speakers.

Article 16.

The Speaker, on his election, shall take before the Assembly the Constitutional Oath provided for under Article (59) of the Interim Constitution.

Article 17.

The Speaker shall preside over the meetings of the Assembly and direct its sittings.

Article 18.

After electing the Speaker and the two Deputy Speakers, the Assembly shall form the following standing committees:

- 1 - The Legal Affairs Committee.
- 2 - The Financial and Economic Affairs Committee.
- 3.- The Home Affairs Committee.
- 4 - The Pan-Arab and International Affairs Committee.

Article 19.

The Assembly shall draw up its own internal rules.

Article 20.

The Law shall become operative from the day it is published in the Official Gazette.

Affixed to the law was the signature of President Ahmad Hasan al Bakr in his capacity as Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council.

Internal Situation In Iraq. Internal Situation In Iraq. 11 Feb. 1970. MS Middle East Online: Iraq, 1914-1974: Selected files from series AIR, CAB, CO, FCO, FO, PREM, T, WO, The National Archives, Kew, UK FCO 17/1235. Newspaper Cutting. The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com/apps/doc/SC5107509528/GDSC?u=webdemo&sid=bookmark-GDSC&xid=22019065&pg=1. Accessed 11 Apr. 2022.